## DOCUMENT RESUME

| ED 049 330 | 24 | UD 011 419 |
|---|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Marcson, Simon |
| TITLE | Decentralization and Community Control in Urban Areas. |
| INSTITUTION | Rutgers, The State Univ., New Brunswick, N.J. |
| SPONS AGENCY | National Center for Educational Research and Development (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C. |
| BUREAU NO | BR-9-0551 |
| PUB DATE | 15 Jan 71 |
| GRANT | OEG-2-9-400551-1070(010) |
| NOTE | 226p. |
| EDRS PRICE | EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87 |
| DESCRIPTORS | Administrator Attitudes, *Community Control, *Community Involvement, Educational Facilities, Integration Effects, Parent Attitudes, Public Schools, *Research Criteria, *School Integration, Statistical Data, Student Attitudes, *Urban Schools |

ABSTRACT

This is the report of a project executed to assist in developing research policies on urban education. Data was gathered from several large cities, but detailed reports are included from Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and Oakland. Trends in urban education with respect to decentralization and community control are discussed, drawn from interviews, observations, and statistical data. These data provide the basis for determination of a plan for research on urban education, the development of a theoretical framework, and the development of research priorities in urban areas. (Author/DM)

BR9-0551
PA 24

ED049330

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

# DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL IN URBAN AREAS

BY

SIMON MARCSON
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

UNDER A GRANT FROM
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
No. OEG-2-9-400551-1070(010)

January 15, 1971

UD011419

# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Chapter

1. DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS: THE BOSTON CASE. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1

2. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND DECENTRALIZATION IN THE CLEVELAND, OHIO SCHOOL SYSTEM. . . . . . . . . . . . . . 37

3. PARTIAL ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION IN PHILADELPHIA. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 70

4. THE ADAMS-MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROJECT: WASHINGTON, D.C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 88

5. LOS ANGELES: GUIDED PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 106

6. ATTITUDES ABOUT DECENTRALIZED AND COMMUNITY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS: OAKLAND. . . . . . . . . . . . . . 138

7. DETROIT: VOLUNTARY "DECENTRALIZED SCHOOL PLAN" . . . 162

8. CHICAGO: CONTROLLED ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION IN AN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM. . . . . . . . . . . . 182

9. RESEARCH ON DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 202

# INTRODUCTION

In pursuit of my project for developing research policies on urban education, I visited the following cities: Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and the Berkeley-Oakland area. However, the reports on the cities of Cleveland, Boston, and Oakland were included in this study through contractual arrangements with specialists in these areas.

The visits to these cities have presented me with a picture of the trends in urban education with respect to the issue of school decentralization and community control. There is quite a variation in decentralization and community control activity for each of the cities. They range all the way from a city such as Detroit, which, under State legislation, must draw up decentralized community school boundaries by January, 1970 to Oakland, California where seemingly very little is occurring in school innovation, although there are deep community conflicts going on. Cities such as Cleveland and Chicago are approaching problems of decentralization as administrative in character and have adopted a variety of administrative types of decentralization, with Chicago also adopting for one area of the city, a community advisory council with a good deal of local decision-making power. Both Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. are examples of cities which have undertaken small experiments in decentralization and community control and have delegated a number of powers to one or two areas in these cities. Boston is in a state of flux and has the possibilities of developing a system of integration of its own, but there is a race against time there with legislation possibly forthcoming from the State which may mandate decentralized school boundaries. Los Angeles is in somewhat the same position with experiments going on in which the school system has delegated powers to two complexes in the city which have local advisory community committees. At the same time, there is a movement on for establishing school integration through a mandated busing system which has little likelihood of being voted in, and if it is not voted in, the State will, within a year or so, vote legislation mandating school boundaries possibly in the same manner as the city of Detroit.

While there are some heartening events taking place in public education, especially in such cities as Los Angeles and Philadelphia, there is much to be discouraged about as these city school systems meet the profound problems of urban education. The city inner-core schools have suffered from evey conceivable social and human problem, and continue to do so. One of the effects has been to stimulate a demand on the part of the racial and ethnic groups involved in these areas for control of their schools in their communities so as to increase their scholastic effectiveness. This, obviously, would encourage a move towards not only urban area segregation, but also freeze the school segregation situation. Supporters of public education have countered with demands that integration in the schools should be implemented and extended. A chief instrument of school integration in these cities is the institution of busing, so as to create a balance of school attendance by races and ethnic groups. However, school busing is, in turn, counteracted by powerful groups in the city. The result of this has been the rise of militants who have stated that since attempts at school integration are a failure, the only solution is school decentralization with local community control. As this expresses itself in a city like Detroit, it means the establishment of school boundary lines along racial lines, thus giving the city de facto segregation. This has come to a head in Detroit with State legislation which makes it mandatory that the city establish boundary lines by January, 1970. The city, at the moment, is divided as to whether to create school districts along integrated lines or de facto segregated lines. If the school board which is headed by integrationists decides in favor of the black militants, it will be creating a de facto segregated school boundary line system. The Courts have decided for the city in favor of "magnet" schools. The same demands are being expressed in Los Angeles, Oakland, Chicago, Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. The Boston situation is slightly different because of the relatively smaller proportion of Negroes in the city population and the manner in which they are distributed. So Boston has a chance of working out integration if the State, in the meantime, does not pass similar legislation to that of Michigan, and thereby force a quick decision on the part of the city which then might go in the direction of de facto segregated school districts.

In the meantime, school systems such as that of Los Angeles, have undertaken a number of interesting innovations to meet the challenge of the lower achievement levels of the ghetto schools, while Philadelphia is experimenting in quite a different manner by taking a very large ghetto high school and decentralizing it so as to create an organization of smaller school units as a basis for providing a new system of motivation. All of these cities, except Oakland, are experimenting with the recognition of the role of parents in the community, in parental participation as a motivating factor in child learning.

Each of the cities that I have visited are described in greater detail as to their background characteristics and their educational trends. This data provides the basis for a determination of a plan for research on urban education and for the development of a theoretical framework for such research. It is also utilized to develop a plan of research in terms of priorities in selected urban areas.

Numerous school officials, teachers, parents, and community leaders have given generously of their time in lengthy interviews and to them, I wish to express my deep gratitude. Many colleagues in the universities of these cities have been of assistance in guiding me to helpful sources of data, and to them I wish to express my thanks and appreciation. Several colleagues in universities have participated actively in this study by contributing chapters and these I want to single out for my personal commendation: Professor Ronald G. Corwin; Professor Leila Sussman, and Dr. Glen P. Nimnicht. I am indebted also to my secretary, Mrs. Sondra Palmieri, for her inestimable assistance in facilitating the work onthis project and for typing and binding. To Robert

Marcson, my gratitude goes for numerous and arduous tasks involving research, clerical work, and proof-reading. Finally, to Robert Havighurst, my thanks for wise guidance.

# CHAPTER I

# DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS: THE BOSTON CASE

## Introduction

Of the major city school systems included in this study, Boston could achieve school integration before any other if the factors favoring such a development were utilized. The fact that only 16% of Boston's population in 1970 is Negro is, in itself, an important assist in developing an integrated system. At the same time that the percentage of Negro in the population is low, the concentrated Negro population while high (54% in model city area; 60% in Roxbury area; 69% in Washington Park area) have not reached the density depths to be found in ghettos in other cities. Population concentrations of this type remain amenable to reduction to at least 50% levels in urban planning programs. While much of the impetus for decentralization has come from the Black Power movement, these groups remain relatively weak and would not be able to successfully obstruct a strong integrationist movement.

State legislation on the books since 1965 establishes standards pressing for integration. The law's objectives are that no school may have a pupil population more than 50% non-white. Boston's Negro school population remains well below the law's standard, at 30% of the city school population. The State, too, is providing for transportation for all those who take advantage of its open enrollment policies. The Boston school system has adopted a program for developing a balanced school program. The school system's policy of "limitation by partial incorporation" has implicit factors aiding the evolution of an integrationist school system.

However, there are barriers at the same time to integration and factors assisting the continuous segregationist processes. The segregated areas of Boston (Roxbury, N. Dorchester, Model City, Washington Park) contain 95% of Boston's Negro population. Segregation seems to be increasing rather than decreasing. In 1960 Roxbury was 44% non-white. In 1968 Roxbury had increased in Negro population to 60%. In 1965, the pupil non-white population constituted 25% of the school population and in 1969 it had increased to 30%. Thirty-five per cent of Negro students were in highly segregated elementary schools (90% or more Negro). At the same time, at the sixth grade level the reading scores of Negroes were 4.6 and that of white pupils, 5.0. At the eighth grade level, Negro pupil reading scores fell to 3.0 and white pupil reading scores fell to 4.6. Obviously the school system was failing both its Negro and white pupils, but the major sufferers were the Negroes.

What, then, are the chances for an integrated school system in the one major city where its objective chances are good? Its' move toward full desegragation is bleak, and, therefore, its chances of moving towards a fully integrated school system is fairly low. At the same time, the signs of the school system's move to decentralization and community control is not on the horizon.

## Two Factors in the Movement Toward Decentralization and Community Control[1]

The two chief sources of the movement toward decentralization of urban school systems and community control of schools in the nineteen-sixties have been Black Power and the federal legislation -- beginning with the Economic Opportunity Act and continuing through the urban renewal, health, mental health, model cities and education laws -- which have included "community participation" as part of their decision-making mechanisms.

Boston is no exception. While the movement here is weak, such initiatives as there are have their roots in federal legislation, Black Power, or both.

## The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Very little has happened at the state level in the matter of school decentralization. In 1968-69, Representative Paul Frye introduced into the Massachusetts legislature a bill to study the feasibility of community-controlled schools. On November 25, 1969, Representative Frye told a forum at the new Trotter school in Boston that his bill had not received serious consideration by the education committee of the legislature and that he would need much stronger public pressure than he had secured to date to guarantee it such consideration. He also announced his willingness, if assured of substantial public support, to introduce a bill revising the method of electing school committees in the cities and towns of the state. School committees are now chosen in at-large elections. In Boston, in the 19th century, the School Committee members were elected by wards. The at-large election is said to have been introduced around 1900 to keep the growing Irish Catholic minority off the Committee. Today the School Committee is almost totally Irish Catholic; there have been only four members since 1940 who did not have Irish names. At present the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) in cooperation with the Community Education Project (a black group dedicated to community control of schools) is suing in court to test the legality of electing the School Committee on an at-large basis.

---

[1] This Section has been prepared in the course of this study by Leila Sussman of Tufts University.

> "According to the LDF suit, the at-large system should be replaced by a district system of election, which would virtually assure at least one black member on the School Committee. Each school would also have a neighborhood governing board, elected from the parents, teacher, students and local community that would supervise local function of the school and aid the district Board member.
>
> "The suit received a fiery response from School Committee Chairman John Kerrigan who called it an example of 'regression' and 'separatism'."*

Few legal experts in Boston or Cambridge give the LDF suit much chance in court. Its contention that no black man can be elected in Boston in an at-large contest is weakened by the fact that a black candidate, Thomas Atkins, won a seat on the City Council in an at-large election in 1967 and was recently re-elected, running second to Louise Day Hicks.

The Massachusetts Department of Education has an impact on community participation in education in Boston in two ways: 1) it is charged with enforcing the state Racial Imbalance Law in the schools; 2) Title I and Title III ESEA funds flow into the city mainly via the state.

The Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law requires every school committee to work toward a situation wherein no school has a pupil population more than 50% non-white. It was passed in 1965 by a coalition of blacks and suburban white liberals. (An analysis by a University of Massachusetts political scientist showed that no white legislator who voted for it had more than a tiny number of Negro constituents.)

---

* Bulletin of the Citizens for Boston Schools, October 1969, p. 1.

The cities of Massachusetts which have large concentrations of Negro population are Springfield, New Bedford, Worcester, Medford and Boston. Of all these cities, Boston has been the most laggard in taking steps to enforce the law. In 1965 Boston's school population was only 25% non-white; today the figure is about 30%. A vigorous program of positive enforcement might have made the elimination of racial imbalance feasible. However Boston did no more than institute open enrollment: a plan under which seats still empty after neighborhood demand was filled would be open to children from outside the neighborhood. However, Boston refused to pay the transportation costs of children who chose to take advantage of such openings; it failed to publicize them or to encourage minority children to make use of them.[1] The notion that the law might be implemented by transporting children to schools outside their neighborhoods with public funds was so distasteful to the Boston electorate that the anti-"bussing" and "neighborhood schools" slogans almost won the mayoral campaign for Louise Day Hicks in her contest with Kevin White.

The inability of the Massachusetts Department of Education and the Boston School Department to agree on any plan under which Boston might conform to the law to the state's satisfaction reached such a pass that for six months during 1966-67 all state funds for education were withheld from the city (under a provision of the law) thereby worsening Boston's already bad school finances. While the hostility between the two agencies remains great, there is now an agreement to work through a Racial Imbalance Task Force to plan the siting of new schools in such a way as to minimize racial imbalance. For every new school which opens racially balanced, the state pays 65% of the construction costs; otherwise the city pays 60%. Boston has presented to the state plans for 25 new schools to be built by 1973 which will take 8000 black pupils out of imbalanced schools and put them into balanced ones. As a critic of the plan has pointed out, this will still leave 20,000 non-white children in imbalanced schools. The plans hardly seem conceived to deal with the growing proportion of the pupil population which is non-white and with the spreading boundaries of minority neighborhoods. It is not even conceived to correct the racial imbalance which existed in 1965. The only solution to that situation was to bus all the Negro children to schools outside their neighborhoods, while the badly deteriorating schools in their neighborhoods were torn down and replaced. Because Boston refused to pay for bussing out, the onus of attempting it fell on the Negro community. Two organizations -- Metco, which busses Negro children to suburban schools with the help of Federal funding, and Exodus which busses them within the city with the help of volunteer funding, are both efforts mounted and run by Negro leaders. They have met with some success but they have been small.

---

[1] This year, for the first time, the state is paying the transportation costs of those who take advantage of the open enrollment plan.

The chief consequence of Boston's inadequate effort to desegregate seems to be growing abandonment of desegregation as a goal. When the first of the new racially balanced schools -- the William Monroe Trotter in the heart of Roxbury -- opened this past September, it was greeted with protests from the black community because white children were recruited throughout the city and even from some suburbs to produce "racial balance" in this attractive new school building while neighborhood black children had to be excluded from it in order to conform to the law. To quote Thomas Atkins -- one of the authors of the Racial Imbalance Law: "There aren't (any longer) enough white kids to go around, unless you have a bussing program as big as the MBTA. (The MBTA is the Public Transportation System).

"Also, the black community is much less willing to support balance today. Nobody seriously believes there ever will be racial balance in the schools.

"So people are saying 'Why keep running into stone walls?'...He compared the Racial Imbalance Law to Prohibition saying that the great bulk of Boston residents don't support it or care about it. The changes he would ask would allow the State

Board of Education to count 'educational innovations' as compliance with the law under certain conditions.

"'By innovations, I mean upgrading the curriculum, hiring black teachers and administrators and increasing the community's role. When I go to the State House with this proposal, I'll have a strange cross-section of support -- but that's all right. Frequently the right thing is done for the wrong reason, and I'll take support wherever I can get it'."[1] (underlining added)

The "strange cross-section of support" Atkins is referring to is the combination of white liberals, who are supporting community control as a substitute for desegregation because they believe that is what the black community now wants, the community control faction in the black community itself, and the white segregationists led by Louise Day Hicks, who have long wanted to repeal the Racial Imbalance Law and who have consistently sought to maintain racial segregation in public education under the slogans of "no bussing" and "neighborhood schools". However, while the white supporters of "neighborhood schools" have wanted to maintain exclusively local recruitment to schools in order to exclude blacks from schools in white neighborhoods, the black community accepts this condition only as an aspect of a transfer of power over the neighborhood schools from the existing, overwhelmingly white school bureaucracy to a new group which will include black educators and black community. When Louise Day Hicks and John Kerrigan talk of neighborhood schools they do mean to defend the continuance of de facto segregation; they do not mean "community control" or anything approaching it. Nevertheless, a rapprochement between the white segregationists and black separatists on the issue of community control seems not only possible butlikely. For the white, it would end the threat of desegration; for some blacks, it would mean rapid mobility into posts which they perceive as positions of power. The obstacle to such a compromise is the school bureaucracy and the teacher's union -- some of whom would lose seniority and perhaps jobs under the arrangement.

---

[1] Bay State Banner, November 27, 1969, p. 9.

A number of the new parent groups which have recently sprung up in Boston to ask for, or even demand, some participation in school affairs (there have been 20-30 of them within the past two years) can be traced to the organizing efforts of the neighborhood OEO staffs. In Boston these are called Area Planning Action Councils (APACs). Generally the APAC education coordinator calls a meeting of parents and other community people concerned with the schools and tries to find out what issues are most likely to provide an initial basis for organization. They then try to help such an organization get started and become strong enough to continue on its own momentum. An example is the start of such an organization by the APAC worker in an Italian section of Boston, the North End. Most elementary school children in this neighborhood attend parochial schools; but the parochial high school cannot accommodate all who would like to attend it, and besides, the neighborhood was somewhat concerned over rumors that the Archdiocese might close the Catholic High School for financial reasons. At the first meeting chaired by the APAC coordinator, a questionnaire was distributed asking people to list their main concerns relating to the schools. It turned out that the major interest was in having some kind of guidance for youngsters leaving junior high school to help them choose an appropriate public high schools. The guidance counsellor supposed to serve the area was apparently seldom there. The discussion focussed on the mechanics of bringing this matter to the attention of the right officials "downtown" and of bringing enough pressure to make sure something was done about it. From there the discussion moved on to the fact that the junior high school princcipal was soon to retire and that the group ought to give some thought to the kind of person it wanted as a replacement and how to get him. Members of the group were very ill-informed concerning the structure and functioning of the public school system and the appropriate channels of communication. They seemed to be becoming aware of this and of the need to learn more about how to go about getting what they wanted from 15 Beacon Street. Though attendance at the meeting was very low -- there were only 20 people present and of these only 8 were parents of school children -- this nevertheless became the nucleus of a new neighborhood schools group. Like others of its kind, it is not aggressive. Its requests to the School Department tend to be limited, specific, and the very opposite of radical -- since they do not envision any basic changes in the schools' structure, curriculum or pedagogical philosophy. To a very considerable extent, these groups focus on deficiencies of the physical plant -- which are grave in Boston, on the need for hot lunches, on the occasional teacher whose classroom behavior suggests that she is mentally ill, and on such grievances as a sixth grade teaching principal so busy with administrative tasks that she has no time to teach. (This case went all the way to the School Committee, thence to the Mayor and back to the School Committee which finally told the parents they would have to choose between an additional teacher and having the school painted since there was not enough money for both. They chose the teacher. Evidently, the School Committee had intended to paint.)

Occasionally these groups expand their interests to matters of larger import. In East Boston, "Parents and Teachers Who Care" began with complaints about the existing school plant, but now have become concerned with the forseeable need for a new school to accommodate the growing child population and with the paucity of available land for building. This has brought them into conflict with the Port Authority which is also concerned to buy land in East Boston for other purposes.

Funds which have come into Boston through Title III of the ESEA have given rise to the development of the two most important community school groups in the city: the King-Timilty Community School Advisory Council -- a black group located in Roxbury, Boston's oldest and largest black community; and the Quincy School Community Council located in the South Cove, which includes Chinatown, and overflows into a large housing project in the South End, which is ethnically mixed.

The King-Timilty Community School Advisory Council is the USOE's Central Cities Task Force Project in Boston. Efforts to develop something resembling this council had started in 1967 when parents, schoolmen, community leaders and Harvard

University researchers formed a coalition to work on a proposal to the Ford Foundation to finance a school-community council for this Roxbury neighborhood. When information was received that the Central Cities Task Force would make $1,500,000 available to Boston over a three year period for an intensive, innovative, inner-city project, members of the coalition persuaded the Boston School Committee to make this groups of schools - the Martin Luther King middle school and the Timilty junior high school, together with their ten feeder elementary schools, all located in Roxbury and about 90 percent black - the focus of the Task Force project. The main aims of the project as stated in the official proposal were 1) to improve communication between the community, especially the parents, and the schools; 2) to develop new educational programs suited to the particular needs of this community and directed to residents of all ages, these programs to be evolved with community participation. The rhetoric of the proposal avoided "community control". Nevertheless it received the approval of the Boston School Committee by a vote of only 3-2 with Chairman Thomas Eisenstadt and John Kerrigan voting "no". Eisenstadt was quoted in the press as saying "We are in effect giving control to the community, no matter how you want to doctor it up with fancy language. We are vesting control in them."

Thus far, however, the Council has not fulfilled the hopes or fears of any extremist group. Is is not "in control" of the schools; but neither is it the totally ineffective, powerless, advisory group the militants expected it to become.

A problem which confronted the Council immediately and which plagues it to this day is the refusal of the "community control" militants in Roxbury to participate. The militants are committed to the view that they must not work "within the system". Benjamin Scott, for instance, has frequently said in public speeches that state and federal funds for Boston school projects should not be accepted since they shore up a school system which would otherwise collapse -- presumably making possible some kind of community "take-over".

The militants have as yet, however, only a tiny constituency. Their aims are more political than educational. They see community control - of all institutions in their community - as a means of increasing black power. The black parents of Boston, on the other hand, seem more concerned with raising their children's educational achievement than they are with community control in the broader political sense.

Nevertheless, the militants played a part in achieving the King-Timilty Council's most striking result. After the Council was organized, the white principals of the King and Timilty schools applied for transfer. Immediately the Council (advised by some Harvard University professors and graduate students) pressed the Superintendent of Schools to recommend blacks to fill these posts. Since there were no blacks on the principals list, Superintendent Ohrenberger claimed he could do nothing. (In Boston appointment to any post higher than that of teacher must be the appointment of someone from within the system). The School Committee, when approached, referred the matter back to the Superintendent for "nominations". Two white men on the list were nominated by Ohrenberger and approved by the School Committee.

At this point several militant groups and self-designated militant leaders joined forces to pressure the King-Timilty Council to insist that the decision be rescinded. They threatened that if the Council did not act they would use "their own methods". The Council, in turn, renewed their demands for the appointment of blacks. They threatened to dissolve themselves as an organization if the demands were not met (thereby depriving Boston of a tidy sum of federal money). In the meantime, the two new white principals asked for transfers. Both they and the Superintendent seemed convinced there would be violence unless the demand for black appointees was met. Finally, the School Committee named two black assistant principals who were not on the list as "acting principals" of the King and Timilty schools. The vote was 3-2 with Chairman Eisenstadt and future Chairman John Kerrigan voting "no". However, the Committee rejected the request that the Council have a part in selecting the appointees.

This was a remarkable event in the annals of Boston school history. Never before had a principal, even an acting principal, been appointed who was not "on the list" -- and certainly never before had a personnel decision of such import been taken so largely as a result of pressure from the community affected by it. The Boston Teachers' Union passed a resolution objecting to by-passing the rated list but did no more about the matter. On the other hand, the militants attempted to exploit their apparent advantage by takeover of the Christopher Gibson School, one of the feeder elementary schools in the district. The "community", meaning the militant leaders, named Benjamin Scott as principal of their "liberation" school. With a small number of pupils and six teachers, the school remained open for about a month - after which most of the pupils returned to the Gibson and the teachers were dismissed. A somewhat similar attempt by a group of militants calling themselves the "king Cabinet" to take over and re-open the King school under their own control during a period when it had been closed due to student disorders lasted only part of one day. When the King school closed again at a later date, due to further disorders, the King Cabinet conducted Learning Centers which ran for about two weeks while the school remained closed. However, the centers disappeared when the King school reopened.

Despite the fact that their direct action tactics failed to gain them control of the Gibson or King schools, the militants' pressure on the King-Timilty Council leading to the Council's firm stand, which, in turn, led the School Committee for the first time in its history to appoint administrators not on the official promotion list and to share their appointment authority with the affected community is the most outstanding event in King-Timilty's history so far. It is also significant that the Boston Teachers' Union raised only mild objection.

On the other hand, John Kerrigan who denounced the appointment of the black acting principals, ran first in the subsequent School Committee election. (Thomas Eisenstadt did not run again.) And the Boston Teachers' Union was adamantly opposed when one of the black acting principals having resigned, the Council proposed the appointment of a Negro from Newton as his replacement. The Council finally obtained the appointment of Rollins Griffith, the black principal of the experimental Lewis School in Boston. So it is difficult to estimate just how much this particular breaking of precedent may mean for the future.

Another place where the King-Timilty Council has had some effect on personnel is in the appointment of community residents and parents as aides in the schools. Some of the people they recommended were vetoed by the School Department. However, the Council has been urging that the aides be changed from temporary to regular appointees with many of the fringe benefits enjoyed by teachers.

In areas other than that of influencing personnel selection, the Council has been much less successful. A major task it set for its first year -- organizing a broad base in the community -- has yet, in the middle of its second year, to begin. The failure has been due in part to the split between the militants and the Council; in part to the fact that energies were diverted to containing the severe student disorders which broke out in the Timilty and particularly in the King school during the first year;to delays in actually obtaining the federal funds which had been appropriated; but above all, perhaps to the inherent difficulty of involving parents in sustained effort which requires regular attendance at meetings and a continued contribution of time and work from them. Only a minority of residents participate in such organizations in middle class American communities where voluntary associations are a characteristic institution. In communities like Roxbury, where formal associations also abound among the middle class, but not among the low income group, the effort to organize a low-income neighborhood must be expected to produce a minority response. Nevertheless, the 119 out of 2000 eligible parents who voted to replace the self-recruited "interim" group with a duly elected King-Timilty Council in March, 1969, is evidence that the Council has no broad base in the community. Also unfortunate was that there was almost no overlap in membership between the interim Council and the elected Council. In other words, the political know-how acquired by the members of the interim Council and their knowledge of the schools' affairs was to some extent lost in the process of succession.

The King-Timilty Council has also been - to date - largely ineffective in the matter of new curriculum -- for the schools or educational programs for the community. No curriculum changes of significant scope have been initiated. The Council has not found a way to initiate such changes. One of the major obstacles has been the implicit split between the parent-members and the school-staff members. Both groups are deeply concerned about the low achievement of the children. Both are aware that graduates of the schools -- even those who are graduated with relatively high grades -- tend not to survive in the city-wide academic high school curriculum. Within the Council there has developed an unfortunate tendency for the community members to blame the schoolmen (black or white -- in fact, the blame has fallen largely on blacks); and for the schoolmen (black - the whites do not dare to be so critical) to blame the community. The community members claim that the teachers should be held accountable for teaching their children to read at grade level, for instance. This view is firmly rejected by the schoolmen who accuse the community of failing to provide the kind of educational support at home which would make "average" grade level achievement possible. The parents do not understand the extent to which the home is implicated in educational achievement and in many cases, neither do the teachers. They simply accuse the parents of sending them such misbehaving, out-of-control pupils that they must spend the larger part of the school-day preserving order rather than teaching.

One interesting development has been a continuing dialogue between the Council and the Boston Teachers' Union. On the whole, the Teachers' Union has supported rather than opposed the Council, For example, the Teachers in the King and Timilty schools were promised overtime pay for staying in school an extra hour each day to plan the school-work of the coming days. The money for this extra time has not been forthcoming from the city and the Teachers' Union has backed the King and Timilty teachers in their demands that they be paid for this planning time.

At present, while the King-Timilty Council is preparing a proposal to USOE for the continuation of its activities into a third year, a pervasive complaint of parent-members is that the "professionals", meaning the school-staff members and the paid full-time Council staff, have "taken over" - making all the decisions without consulting them except for rubber stamp approval.

How one evaluates the achievements of the King-Timilty Council depends on one's political stance. For the moment it appears that the two black principals have "taken over". In return for promises of broad and swift cooperation from the Boston School Department, they promised - and they have fulfilled the promise - to restore order to these very nearly chaotic schools. Both of the black principals are themselves long term members of the Boston school system, and it is very likely that they believe only trained schoolmen can hope to effect favorable change in these schools. It remains to be seen whether they are equally sensitive to the frustration in the lay community and to their opportunity to harness the community's strong resentment against the inadequacy of their children's academic performance and use it for positive educational ends. Restoring order in the schools falls far short of what the black community wants and expects. It wants academic results -- unrealistically soon, no doubt. If the Council fails to produce these results, the black militants will use this as one more proof that nothing can be accomplished "within the system" -- that the black community must in effect secede from the "racist" Boston School system and create its own network of community-controlled schools.

The King-Timilty Community School Advisory Council is the nearest thing to a large-scale experiment in community "control" of public schools which exists in Boston. The Quincy School Community Council (QSCC) - an equally significant group - has had a quite different history. Thus far, it has had little to do with participation in the existing elementary schools of its district. Its main focus has been on planning a new K-5 Quincy school to replace - in part - the existing Quincy and Abraham Lincoln elementary schools of the South Cove. QSCC was not directly a creation of Title III nor of any government or university agency. It came into existence rather as a community reaction to planning activities of these agencies which were already under way.

For over two years prior to the formation of the Quincy School Community Council, there was a Quincy School Project in the Planning Office of Tufts-New England Medical Center (T-NEMC). The Planning Office was sub-contracted by the Boston School Department to "plan an innovative environment" for the new Quincy School, projected under a Title III contract to replace the historic Quincy School on Tyler Street. Under another Title III contract, a team of health specialists in the Medical Center were planning an experiment with delivery of health services to children via the elementary school.

The Quincy School Project had an Advisory Council on which were represented the state and city agencies with a jurisdictional relationship to new schools in Boston. It met monthly to hear progress reports and give advice. The South Cove Recreation Committee representing a number of local agencies also advised the Project staff.

Nineteen sixty-six to sixty-seven was devoted mainly to planning on paper. During 1967-68, the Project staff and health team began to test some of their plans on a pilot basis in the existing Abraham Lincoln and Quincy schools. They carried out extensive physical and dental examinations of pupils, and they tried out a social studies curriculum (which they judged to be inappropriate for these pupils). The work brought them into contact with teachers, pupils and families. In late spring the staff felt that this contact ought not to lapse during the summer vacation but should be used as a springboard for broader community participation in the project. To that end, two steps were taken. A summer recreation program serving children of the area was mounted in Castle Square, (a D-3 housing project in the South End) and the Educational Planning Center and T-NEMC jointly supplied funds to hire a community organizer.

A young woman with unique qualifications was found for the task. She was Chinese-American, born in Boston, and had friends and relatives in Castle Square and Chinatown. She was also a graduate student of social work and as such, had some professional acquaintance with the techniques of community organization. She was joined in her work by a young man, also Chinese-American, who was employed by the Student Health Project (financed by the Social Research Service.)

These two spent the summer learning all they could about the Quincy School Project and discussing its purposes and methods with the residents of Castle Square, Chinatown, and to a lesser extent, Bay Village. They tried to make personal contact with everyone who had had anything to do with the Project, and in addition, with a large number of people who knew nothing of it. In this they had the invaluable assistance of Chinese-speaking friends and relatives who could reach a portion of the constituency whom no non-Chinese speaker could contact.

By midsummer, they had compiled a list of interested community people. Given this groundwork, a meeting between the Tufts staff and members of the community seemed likely to be successful (Such meetings had been called twice before with little response). The meeting was scheduled for August 15 in Castle Square. It was advertised in print, by bull horn, and by word-of-mouth. Fifty to sixty residents of Castle Square, Bay Village and the greater South End attended. They heard a description of the Project by members of the staff and they asked challenging questions. The central challenge was: Why had the staff taken so long to come to the community? By what right did they plan for, rather than with, the community?

Challenges like this had a familiar ring in the United States in 1968. The particular case aside, there was a widespread feeling, though not universally shared, that they deserved a serious response.

In the particular case, it was agreed that the matter be discussed further. From among those present, representatives of each community and of Tufts were chosen for a Temporary Committee which met the following week -- and every week thereafter.

The August 15 meeting thus initiated a conversation -- between the Quincy

School Project staff and the communities; within each community; and within the staff. Each component of the Temporary Committee had to establish its legitimacy in the eyes of the others. The Project staff wanted assurance that it was dealing with groups which could legitimately claim to represent Chinatown, Bay Village and Castle Square, the three communities in the catchment area of the new Quincy School. Community representatives challenged the legitimacy of all decisions made without their participation. They wanted to know what powers the Project staff commanded and how far these powers would be shared with them.

Through September and October, the groups acted to meet each other's challenges. The three communities sought procedures for legitimizing their representation. In each case, the task was slightly different. In Bay Village, a Neighborhood Association chose delegates to represent it, giving each the power to vote the interests of the community as he saw them. A Castle Square Neighborhood Association was in the process of being founded and building its membership. In mid-November, it designated delegates to represent the community in the permanent Council. The Castle Square delegates adopted a procedure of caucusing each time there was a vote -- first to determine whether to cast their votes as individuals or as a unit - and if as a unit, how to cast them.

Chinatown had a recognized set of organizations which care for and represent the community's interests. After meetings of the Chinese Benevolent Association (C.B.A.) and the Chinese American Civic Association (C.A.C.A.), the latter group was designated by C.B.A. to choose delegates for Chinatown. Having been selected, the Chinatown delegates decided to vote according to a unit rule.

The Tufts staff wrestled with the question of whether they ought to act as a liaison between the Planning Office and the communities, or whether they ought to have a closer link with the group which was taking form. They had to clarify to the community representatives that they could speak only for the Planning Office and not for the whole T-NEMC. They also had to communicate large amounts of information concerning their work of the previous twenty months -- and the community representatives had to absorb the information -- all very rapidly. The process was not without mishaps.

At the end of September, a community representative suggested a plan for a permanent Quincy School Community Council. The Tufts staff developed the plan in the form of a voting structure which gave them membership in the permanent group and made it possible for either the staff or the three communities to veto proposals of the other. The community representatives rejected this structure and countered with another which, after much discussion, was adopted at the end of October. Chinatown was assigned 5 votes; Castle Square, 5; Bay Village, 3; the South End, 1; and the Tufts staff, 5. Decisions could be made by majority vote with the minority having an option to write a dissenting report.

In the seven months after it was created, this voting mechanism was used only two or three times. Virtually every decision the Quincy School Community Council made in that period, was made by consensus. Where a consensus could not be reached, decisions were postponed in the hope that a consensus would have formed at a later date.

By the time the voting structure was adopted, the legitimacy of the Council's component groups for each other was reasonably well established. All parties had made concessions. The Tufts staff became part of the Council sans veto power. They agreed that all past decisions were subject to review, while reminding the Council that there was not unlimited time for the process. The Advisory Council had invited the Community Council to send representatives to its meetings. At the request of the Community Council they had also agreed to hold public meetings in the future so that community residents who wished to might attend.

The three communities had gone to pains to develop legitimate procedures for choosing representatives to the Council. They met Tufts' plaint that there were no funds for community work with the offer to work without funds. Twelve well-attended weekly meetings demonstrated that the offer was not an idle one. I estimate conservatively that through the end of May, 1969, 3,000 volunteer man-hours had gone into Council meetings and at least an equal number into working subcommittee meetings. This leaves out of account the long hours of informal personal discussion within and between delegations which go far to explain the Council's capacity to maintain a consensus.

The consensus was notable because the Council is in many ways a diverse group, representing different interests. Bay Village is a neighborhood of white residents with a high average income. Many own their own homes, valuable property near the city's core. Castle Square is a D-3 apartment development with white, black, Puerto Rican and Chinese families and a considerably more modest average income than Bay Village. Chinatown is heterogeneous, with second-and third-generation families and a new group of non-English speaking immigrants from Hong Kong. Incomes range from very low to quite comfortable. On the Council there are parents and non-parents; conservatives, moderates and radicals; and an age group from the teens to the sixties.

However, Council members share a characteristic which makes them somewhat alike for all their diversity: a high educational level. A large proportion of active Council members are college-educated, and several have formal schooling beyond the Bachelor's degree. They tend also to be community leaders. Several have occupational backgrounds which have been resources for the Council's work. The chief instance, perhaps, is the membership of several professionals in the field of education. They have been a link with the Quincy-Lincoln school staffs and along with these staffs, with the world of contemporary educational ideas.

While the Council has been fortunate in its human resources, its material resources have been meagre. On December 19, the Educational Planning Title III projects, made $3,000 available for hiring staff. On February 21, the Quincy Schoo Project signed a contract with the Council paying it $5,332.00 (including the $3,000 from the School Department) for consulting services through June 30, 1969. These funds paid the Council's two coordinators and all other expenses. The Boston Redevelopment Authority made available an unused building for the

Council, at 34 Oak Street, near the Medical Center as temporary headquarters.

Although the voting structure was adopted October 29, one further organizational task was not accomplished until January, 1969. At the meeting of December 2, a member suggested that the staff at the Quincy-Lincoln School district be invited to join the Council. The proposal quickly gained majority support. There was debate over how best to approach the school staff. To understand the Council's concern over the proper approach, one must recall that this was the year of the prolonged teachers' strikes in New York City and of the tragic rift between the teacher's union and several New York communities. After discussion, a letter was sent to the Commonwealth Department of Education, the district superintendent, the Boston Teachers' Union, the district principal and the teachers, setting forth the Council's purposes and inviting membership of the district staff. There were informal meetings at the schools on the teachers' invitation. The district principal invited the Council to make a formal presentation at a staff meeting in January. While the teachers have not yet taken up the invitation to voting membership on the Council, a group of eight to ten found time to meet with the subcommittee on curriculum, and contribute to its work. Since the new Quincy School is planned for the K through 5 age group, it is not surprising that most of the teacher-participants came from these grade levels. The number participating was roughly half the K through 5 teachers in the district.

The voting structure once settled, the Tufts delegates insistently reminded the Council of impending deadlines. The new Quincy School was scheduled to open its doors in 1972. There was only so much time for planning and for building. A planning document had to be submitted to the Public Facilities Department and reviewed by the Boston School Department. The Project Staff had written a first draft which served as a jumping-off point for work on a Council-written document.

If the multi-use urban building conceived by the Project staff were acceptable to the Council, it was necessary to demonstrate its feasibility by obtaining commitments from appropriate agencies to rent space and staff its various components. The Project Staff had explored many possibilities for obtaining these "letters of intent" but much remained to be done.

To accomplish its tasks, the Council sprouted sub-committees. A subcommittee on Budget and Personnel was formed early to write the job description for Council coordinators, to advertise the position, screen applicants, and make recommendations. Two coordinators were hired on January 23rd.

A Committee on Curriculum was formed November 18th and began meeting -- sometimes in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon at the Lincoln School for the convenience of its teacher-members, to discuss in broad terms the kind of education they would like to see in the new Quincy School.

A Committee on Goals and Policy was charged with the task of defining "a continuing process" through which the community might be permanently involved in the new Quincy School. Occasionally, it was asked to work on a specific issue when the full Council failed to reach consensus, e.g., to incorporate or not to incorporate.

A Recreation Committee reviewed the recreational facilities for both school and community proposed by the Project staff for the multi-use building.

All committees wrote reports for eventual incorporation into a planning document. Finally, a document-writing committee took on the task of pulling the committee reports together. For several weeks it met three or four times a week to write. When it had produced a rough draft, this was circulated to the entire mailing list (of about 200) with requests for reactions. Several Committee meetings were held for the same purpose. The document committee then wrote the final draft, taking account of the critiques it had received.

The Council having agreed on the desirability of most of the components of the multi-use building (there was real controversy only over the character of the housing to be built) continued the work of finding agencies which would write letters of intent to rent, staff and operate them. This involved them in dealing with the Mayor's Office aboutthe possibility of a "little City Hall" in the building;

with the Library Department and the Department of Parks and Recreation concerning the operation of the recreational facilities; with United Day Care, United Community Services and United South End Services about the projected day care center and drop-in center for children and young people, with the Educational Facilities Administration about potential housing; with the Department of Health and Hospitals about space for health care, and others. Most of the work of the dealing with these agencies necessarily fell on the shoulders of the paid full-time coordinators and Tufts Project staff. Other Council members represented the body in these negotiations when they were able to apare the daytime hours.[1]

In order to gain a firsthand impression of innovative educational methods, Council members visited a number of schools. These included the Boardman, Lewis, the McCormack, the Fayerweather, the Bridge and other schools in greater Boston and the two Bridges school district in New York City.

The Council also established contacts with organizations similar to itself, most notably the South End Community Education Council and the Friends of the Mackey School. Thirty-four Oak Street, Council headquarters, immediately illustrated the shortage of recreational space for young people in the area: they knocked on the doors to ask if they could use it. At present 34 Oak is a drop-in center and meeting place for a club of young people. They have sanded the floor and painted the second story room where the Council meets and where they, on other evenings, have held parties.

An inside joke is often the sign that a collection of people have become a cohesive group. The Council's joke is a McCluhanesque cliche, "The process is the product." The Council's most tangible product is its planning document.

---

[1] The fact that many community residents can do volunteer work only in the evening and that service agencies work from 9 to 5 is not a trivial obstacle to community participation in this work. For example, it is difficult for parents, especially working parents, to get to school during the day, and equally difficult for teachers, who often travel home to their families in other communities, to return to school in the evening.

Its most significant products are not tangible and may be strong or fragile -- I find it hard to judge.

First, there has developed a network of personal relationships among residents of Bay Village, Castle Square, and Chinatown communities, which although geographically contiguous have not been interrelated in this way before. The likelihood is thereby increased that the three communities can and will act together on matters of common interest beyond the Council's scope.

Second, many members claim that their experiences on the Council have been "an education". They have seen progressive educational ideas in action. They have dealt with government agencies and learned something of how they function. It is equally true that the agencies, in dealing officially with the Council have accorded it an important degree of recognition. On matters concerning the new Quincy School the Council is the established spokesman for the community .

The Council's planning document is now completed. It has been sent to the Public Facilities Department (PFD), which is responsible for the building, and the PFD and QSCC together by mutual agreement - have selected the architects to design the community center which will have the new Quincy School as its heart. A key consideration in choosing the architects was their presumed capacity to work on a continuing basis with the Council, consulting with them and clearing designs with them at every step along the way. This is hardly a usual procedure for architects, yet both the PFD and the architects chosen seem to agree with the Council's definition of the situation: the community is the client and the community's wishes must be served.

The Boston School Department must pass on the educational plans for the new Quincy School. They have not yet been heard from. The document asks for a procedure whereby the community may take part in the choice of personnel, in curriculum-building and in continuing decision-making concerning the school at every level. The Council has not demanded community control. It has asked that a procedure for continuing community participation be negotiated. Nonetheless, these mildly phrased requests are radical. Personnel recruitment, curriculum building and the choice of pedagogical philosophy underlying its operations are the core professional activities of the School Department. Its response to these requests is therefore crucial - for itself as well as the Council.

An acute immediate problem for the QSCC is funds. Much less lushly funded than the King-Timilty Council to begin with, both it and the Tufts Planning Office have now run out of funds almost completely. Unless they can find private foundation funding at a level at least sufficient to keep a full-time staff and an office, their effectiveness is likely to dwindle drastically.

A second problem is community organization. Like the King-Timilty Council the QSCC does not, in fact, have a very broad community base. This is due in part to the large number of non-English-speaking Hong Kong immigrants in its area; in part to the lack of funds for door-to-door community organizers; and in part to the natural reluctance of hardworking, poor people with little spare time to attend meetings and invest themselves, without compensation, in such an exotic activity as planning a new school.

In short, there exists a distinct possibility that the QSCC will quietly expire for lack of money three years before the Quincy School Complex is scheduled to open. If this occurs, the hoped-for community corporation which would coordinate the various parts of the complex in the community's interest will not exist. Rather, each agency, the YMCA, the family service agency, the day care center, the Department of Health, and so on, will operate its facilities independently. The School Department will open the school in routine fashion, keeping in its own hands the control over personnel selection, curriculum, decisions concerning the grading vs. non-grading and other educational matters.

However, if the School Department is sufficiently clumsy, it might provide the issue which would keep the QSCC alive. A flat refusal to discuss the possibility of community participation in educational decisions, for instance, would probably revive and expand the Council's support in the South Cove and throughout the city. It may be less what the School Department does than the way that it does it which will count. The Chinese constituency of QSCC is probably more interested in results, in terms of the building and its facilities - than it is in the ideology of community participation. Handled with due respect, they would probably agree to a compromise very satisfactory to the school bureaucracy. The members of QSCC who are committed to community participation above all as their goal would then have lost their war. The next two years should tell.

## Boston Initiatives

In 1967 the Boston School Department hired Dr. Robert Anderson of Harvard University to work under the auspices of its Office of Program Development (since renamed the Educational Planning Center -EPC -) to plan three new schools for Dorchester. The schools were among those to be built in conformity with the Racial Imbalance Law.

Dorchester is a section of Boston which borders on Roxbury. Traditionally it has been a Jewish community. At present it is an area in transition as the Jewish residents move out and black residents from Roxbury increasingly move in. As it happens the three new schools are located right at a point where an old lower middle class white community is separated by a main artery from an expanding black community. At present the black children attend the Gibson School, an all-black school which was the scene of the takeover by militants described above. The white children attend two other schools. The three new schools to be substituted for these old ones will have a racial balance, roughly of 50/50. Dr. Anderson's strategy apparently was to plan the schools and then seek community approval for his plans. This parallels roughly what was done by the T-NEMC Planning Office and the result was the same. The community objected in principle to being planned _for_ and responded by forming its own organization to develop its own plan. At present the Dorchester Steering Committee, a bi-racial group, has nearly completed its planning document and is getting ready to hand it over to the Boston School Department for review.

The Educational Planning Center has three responsibilities: 1) it monitors Title III projects in Boston; 2) it cooperates with local communities in planning new schools; 3) it writes proposals for federal funds under various titles of ESEA.

The strategy of the Center is to send one of its representatives into each neighborhood where a new school is planned either to work with existing groups or to form a neighborhood group to plan the school. The EPC involves school staffs as well as neighborhood residents in the organizations. In some neighborhoods, there is very little interest and the EPC representative is left to develop the plan himself. In other neighborhoods there is a great deal of interest and not infrequent factional strife over the question of who legitimately represents the neighborhood. One EPC representative, for instance, has been assigned to the South Cover, the South End and Dorchester. That means that he has been the contact with EPC for the Quincy School Community Council among other groups. The EPC reviewed the Council's (QSCC) document, recommended some changes and passed the document on to the Boston School Superintendent with a qualified endorsement.

In the case of another South end group, the EPC contact man is faced with a three way factional split as to who represents the community. He is trying to weld the factions into one group which will endorse a planning document outlining the educational and physical characteristics of the new school to be built in their neighborhood. In still another case an all-black community has refused any contact with the EPC representative (who in this case is black) because he comes from the Boston School Department. At present this neighborhood has no school of its own, its two schools having been mysteriously burnt down a few years ago. The children are bussed out of the community to a white neighborhood to school. There is new housing going up in the neighborhood and by next fall there will be 500 elementary age youngsters. The neighborhood organizations declare that they are "fed up" with bussing; that they want their own schools in their own neighborhood; but that, at the same time, they will have no communication with the Boston School Department. Some of them claim that they will open and run their own "Freedom Schools" next fall. In fact, this may turn out to be the most militant neighborhood, most adamantly insistent on "community control" that the Boston School Department will have to deal with in the near future. It is informally reported that parents in the area are willing to keep their children home next year rather than send them to a city-run school. There are two strong organizations in the neighborhood.

The strategy of the Boston School Department in the face of demands by local parent groups for participation in personnel selection, curriculum-making and determination of pedagogical methods seems to be very much what Harold Lasswell long ago labelled "limitation by partial incorporation". In specific instances, the School Department or School Committee makes what appear to be surprising concessions. For instance, their appointment of black principals not on the list; their permission to the parents of the Mackey School in the South End to plan and implement a non-graded curriculum for their children in cooperation with teachers in the school; their accession to a request from the Dorchester Steering Committee than an expensive primary health care unit be included in the plans for their schools; their agreement that members of the Boardman Parents' Association could be represented on the committee which selected teachers for the new Monroe Trotter School. In every one of these cases standard procedure was violated. The School Department treated them all as "special cases" - as exceptions. The Department prefers that such "exceptional" agreements be reached with a minimum of publicity and they seem concerned to satisfy the immediate demands of specific groups of parents without at the same time having to change any existing procedure in principle or on a city-wide basis.

Thus far, the strategy appears to be quite successful. It remains to be seen whether it will succeed with the demands for community participation. The School Committee may well feel that it can afford to ignore these demands. The outspoken boosters of the Boston schools -- Louise Day Hicks and John Kerrigan each ran first in this past autumn's elections for City Council and School Committee respectively. As School Committeeman Paul Tierney told a meeting of the Boston Education Alliance, the majority of the people of Boston seem content with their schools. Yet the existence of that Alliance -- which was formed only last summer -- is a sign that the critics of the school system are uniting to increase their strength. Already they have won a victory. They have made a study of Special Classes in the South End of Boston which shows definitely that these classes are being used in a way which is in violation of the law -- and the School Committee has moved to take action on this damaging report. A similarly critical document - produced by the Task Force on Children out of School - claims that thousands of Puerto Rican youngsters do not attend school in Boston and that the school system does nothing about it. The charge has been called "exaggerated" by the School Committee but the fact that there is a problem has not been denied. It appears likely that the Task Force will be able to force the School Department to take some action on this matter as well.

The School Committee, in short, is vulnerable to pressure on some matters. However, the requests for parent participation in educational decisions are radical demands. They go to the heart of the functions which the School Department considers to be its central responsibilities and which they are least likely to share, even in part, without a struggle. Furthermore, it is not clear that any large group of parents in Boston is prepared to fight very hard for these demands. Community participation has its strongest support in the black community and even there, the "community control" position is still a minority one. At the present time, there are three plans for new schools written by community groups which ask for parent participation in the core aspects of education. These three - plus possibly one or two others - will reach the School Department at about the same time. If the desires of these communities are brusquely turned down, and if the communities unite in rejecting the refusal, the issue of local community autonomy with respect to the character of schools may yet become a major issue in Boston. If so, it will affect mainly the black and Puerto Rican, and possibly the Chinese communities -- backed by some activists from the universities.

At the present moment, however, it seems to me that "community control" of schools has very little future in Boston. There may well be some concessions to the black community: recruitment of more black staff members in return for an end to demands for desegregation. But there is little or no evidence that a change of this character, or for that matter that "community control" would quickly upgrade the academic performance of segregated, low SES, black elementary schools. The evidence is largely to the contrary.

Many of the university personnel in greater Boston who are interested in improving the area's school systems are aware of this fact. They are also aware of the politically bleak future of desegregation. As a result there is a considerable ferment of both research and action directed to finding ways to improve the education of low SES schools by means as yet largely undiscovered.

## A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

### I. Racial Composition and Population Size

Size of metropolitan area 2,605,452 (1965)

Size of the city of Boston 616,326 (1965)

Percent Negro in Metropolitan area 3% (1960)

Percent Negro in Boston 1950 2%

1960 9.1%

1968 14%

1970(est) 16%

1980(est) -----

Negro as Percent of Non-white 92% (1960)

### II. Racial Distribution

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 95% Negro

1965 -----

1960 (10% of Roxbury population lives in tracts with 95% Nonwhite)

1950 ----

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% (or more) Negro

1965 -----

1960 37%

1950 ------

Comments:

If more recent figures were available, they might show much increased percentages. Roxbury was 44% Nonwhite in 1960 and 60% Nonwhite in 1968.

### Most Heavily Negro Social Planning Areas

| District | Percent Negro | Density | Median Family Income | % Below ($3000) Poverty Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1968) Roxbury | 60% Nonwhite | 33,968 per sq. mi. | $4631. | 27.4% |
| (1960) North Dorchester | 9.9% Nonwhite | 25,000 per sq. mi. | $5709. | 16.1% |
| (1967) "Model City Area" (Parts of Roxbury, No. Dorchester, and Jamaica Plain) | 54% |  | $5500. | 24% (1967) |
| (1960) Washington Park (Part of Roxbury not in Model City) | 69% |  | Above Average for Roxbury |  |

Additional Facts Concerning the High Negro Density Areas:

Median Family Income in year $5500 (estimate)

Size of area Roxbury - 2.5 sq. mi + No. Dorchester - 4.5. sq. mi (est) = 7 sq. mi. Model City - 1953 Acres

Population Roxbury - 84,924 + No. Dorchester - 112,504 = 197,428; Model City 62,300

Number of elementary schools in area Roxbury 24; Model City 23

Delinquency rate Model City - Juvenile arrests = 19% of City Total (50% higher than City Average)

Population Density Roxbury + No. Dorchester 28,204 per sq. mi.; Model City 32 per sq. acre

School Enrollment "Enrollment in Schools in Roxbury"- 11,925
Model City 5497 Negro + 962 White = 6,459

Unemployment Roxbury - 2272 (est.); No. Dorchester 2170 (est.) Model City - Rate - 7.2; Underemployment - 24.7

Public Welfare "Roxbury Crossing" - 12,439; Dorchester - 20,261 (Model City has 18.2% of Boston caseload).

Income Level $5500 median

Out of School youth Model City dropout rate 36% higher than city average.

## III. Poverty Levels

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard (1960) Model City - 50%; No. Dorchester 17.8%; Roxbury 40.7%.

Percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3000 Model City 24% (1967); Roxbury 27.4% (1968); No. Dorchester 16.1% (1960)

Unemployment rates in the city of Boston

| Date | Average | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 5.7 | | |
| 1960 | 5.8 | 7.8 (nonwhite) | |
| 1966 Boston Metropolitan Area | 3.4 | (Model City)<br>7.2 | |
| 1968 Boston Statistical Area | 4.1 | | |

Comments:

No recent racial breakdown.

# A PROFILE OF THE BOSTON SCHOOL SYSTEM

## I. Size of the System

Total number of schools 192 date November, 1969

No. of elementary schools 150 date November, 1969

No. of Junior schools 17 date November, 1969

No. of Senior High Schools 19 date November, 1969

No. of Special Schools 16

## II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff and Students (October, 1968)

### A. Staff

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Negro | 226 | 4.77 |
| Negroes in white schools (under 10% Negro | 39 | 17.2 |
| Negroes in Negro schools (50%+ Negro & 90%+ Negro) | 148<br>99 | 65.5<br>43.8 |
| In elementary schools | 133 | 5.18 |
| In Senior High schools | 28 | 2.36 |
| Certified personnel | All teachers | 100% |
| Classroom teachers | 4500 (estimate) | |

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.) 24.2

(jr. high) 25.6

(sec.) 20.2

(K) 21.8

Mean years experience (teachers) No records

% first year teachers 10%

% non-degree 1%

% B.A. 34%

% M.A. 56%

% M.A. plus 30 hours 9%

Salary - minimum (Bach) $7,000

maximum (Bach) $10,300

B. Students

Negro enrollment in elementary schools:

| | Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negro | Oct. 68 | 25,482 | 27.05 |
| Nonwhite | Oct. 68 | 29,674 | 31.5 |
| Nonwhite | Nov. 69 | 29,258 | 30.83 |
| Nonwhite | 1965 | 24,167 | 24.7 |
| Nonwhite | 1961 | 14,955 | 16.4 |

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools:

| | Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| In schools 50% + Negro | Oct. 68 | 17,323 | 67.9 |
| In schools 90% + Negro | | 8,944 | 35.1 |

Comments:

Student Performance

| Test Score (date: 1969) (Standardized) Metropolitan Achievement | Schools 95-100% Negro | | White (95-100%) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Word Knowledge | Reading | Word Knowledge | Reading |
| Grade 2 | 4.7 | 4.1 | 6.4 | 5.7 |
| Grade 4 | 4.7 | 3.8 | 5.8 | 5.1 |
| Grade 6 | 4.8 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 5.0 |
| Grade 8 | 3.6 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 4.6 |

Stanford Reading Achievement

End of 3rd Year

(None 1968; 1969 not yet compiled)

End of 6th Year

C. School Board

Method of selection: Biannual Citywide Election

Number of Negroes on School Board: None

Members of the Boston Board of Education ("School Committee")

John J. Kerrigan
Paul R. Tierney
Joseph Lee
James W. Hennigan, Jr.
John J. Craven, Jr.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY ON BOSTON

"Individual School Report " Elementary and Secondary School Survey, Form OS/CR 102, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., October, 1968.

Peter Schrag, Village School Downtown, Beacon Press, Boston: 1967.

Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age

The Rehabilitation Planning Game

Leila Sussman, The Quincy School Community Council

Barbara Jackson, King-Timilty

Boston Globe

Application to Dept. of Urban Development, 1967 for Grant to set up Model City.

# CHAPTER 2

# CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND DECENTRALIZATION IN THE CLEVELAND, OHIO SCHOOL SYSTEM

## Introduction

While the city of Cleveland is feeling the pressures for community decentralization, the city's school administration's view is that the Bundy Plan would "build iron curtains around the neighborhoods and freeze the ghetto". Instead, the school system seems to be moving in the direction of administrative decentralization whereby school principals and schools are being given a greater degree of involvement in the decision-making process in educational administration. This does not mean that Cleveland is moving to administrative decentralization on a geographic or district basis, but simply one in which individual school principals will have wider lattitude in which to function within a framework of city-wide minimum standards and curricula.

Cleveland's educational problems are multiplied by its urban plight which in many respects is similar to that prevailing in other cities. Residential segregation continues to increase. The city's Negro population, which is 40% of its total population, resides in city districts in which they constitute from 72% to 98% of the population. At least 25% of the housing in Negro areas is substandard. The rate of unemployment for Negroes in 1965 was 9% while that for the white population was 2.4%.

Cleveland's school system has been moving more and more in the direction of reflecting the population changes in the city. Negro teachers constitute 43% of the city's teaching staff, while Negro teachers in the high density Negro schools constitute 73%. Negro pupils are distributed in greater density than Negro teachers. In the elementary schools, Negro pupils constituted 57% of the enrollment. At the same time, 92% of the segregated schools (using 80% as an index of racial predominance) consisted of Negro pupil enrollment. The reading scores of Negro pupils are not unrelated to these factors in that they are one full point behind white pupils at the 6th grade level.

In the city of Cleveland, then, we have a picture of a community moving towards a Negro population majority, a school pupil enrollment distribution in which Negroes constitute a majority, and a school teacher distribution in which Negroes are becoming a majority. While within these urban patterns there is segregation, will school decentralization provide an educational solution? Will community control introduce a new variable when the city's demographic trends move towards Negro majorities? Cleveland's school administration's tentative answer is that of giving each school greater autonomy rather than looking at autonomy within a racial framework.

## Citizen Participation[1]

Several distinct meanings are attached to the term "citizen participation" by officials in Cleveland holding different ideological positions about politics and professionalism. A simple typology is suggested below for the purpose of placing various activities in which the Cleveland schools are engaged:

---

[1] This Section has been prepared in the course of this study by Ronald G. Corwin of Ohio State University, 1969.

## TABLE 1

| PERSONS PARTICIPATING | TYPE OF PARTICIPATION | |
|---|---|---|
| | Consultation | Decision-Making Powers |
| Expert Participation | I. The use of astronauts and writers as speakers and consultants, the use of businessmen in planning vocational education curriculum. | II.<br>--- |
| Community (lay) Participation in Decision Making | | |
| A. City-wide | III. Appointed Citizen Committees | IV. Self-appointed Citizens Councils: Elected School Boards |
| B. Neighborhood-based | Student Councils | |
| Parent Involvement in School Activities | V. PTA's; projects enlisting parents to help children in the home. | VI.<br>--- |

Cleveland central administrators stress the type of participation represented in Cell I in which businessmen and citizens are called upon to give technical expert advice, always in an advisory capacity. Where citizen committees are used, they are appointed on a city-wide basis. The city-wide representation and the selection of citizens on the basis of their expertise predisposes the system to encourage the involvement of middle-class citizens. Although it should be noted that Cleveland is experimenting with a form of decentralization in the Glenville area -- the Glenville School Committee Project -- in which the school administration works with a community to plan for the education and other needs of children in the area. Twenty-one schools are involved in the project, reaching 24,000 children. This is described later.

At the other extreme, the Urban Coalition is pressuring for locally elected neighborhood school boards as represented in Cell IV of the above table. The education task force of the Urban Coalition has pledged to try to strengthen the opportunity for citizens to participate in their schools. The Foundation which provides one-half of the funds for the Coalition has endorsed this objective, although the superintendent reportedly will attempt to block their efforts.

Recently, the Urban Coalition called together representatives of 35 groups which have been constituted into five panels to consider community participation. The panels will hear a total of 15 neighborhood forums during the second and third weeks of September. The produce of these forums should be recommendations to the board on October 15. In addition, the panels themselves are likely to continue to function as a political force to pressure for the adoption of their proposals.

The issue of citizen participation also will be an issue in the school board election this year. A united community group has put up a slate of candidates who support neighborhood school boards.

The situation, consequently, is going to be explosive. In the past ten months four schools have been burned out; one within recent weeks. Last year there were several outbreaks involving dissatisfied citizens in the inner city, which closed down some schools, including John Hay, John F. Kennedy and Rawlings Schools. Also the central administration building was taken over by black militants last spring.

## The School Board's Poskion

The superintendent, Paul Briggs, who has been in this office since 1964, writing in the Illinois Schools Journal (Spring, 1969) listed several recommended programs:

> "A partial list of some programs that must either be established or expanded in every urban center would include: a twelve month school year, new school buildings that are attractive, functional, and flexible; bigger libraries in all schools; procedures to make the new technology available for the education of children; sex education in elementary as well as secondary schools; new services for the physically and the emotionally handicapped; vastly increased health services; large scale recreational facilities so that every child can walk to a supervised playground, gymnasium, and swimming pool; a full-scale program in nutrition including breakfast for the inner-city child; massive increases in vocational and technical courses in comprehensive high schools; new work-study opportunities; financial aid forthe high school graduate who does not qualify for a scholarship but needs assistance to go to college; rehabilitation opportunities for the dropout and the potential

> dropout; new partnerships with industry as we reclaim the dropout and prepare him for today's jobs and tomorrow's; expanded follow-up for the graduate; adult education classes to combat illiteracy and to update job skills; and modern management techniques in the operation of our schools."

It is significant that he omitted any mention of demands for community control or for reorganization. The school administration fears that the Bundy plan would "build iron curtains around the neighborhoods and freeze the ghetto". While some observers believe that decentralization of school boundaries in the Greater Cleveland area might be a means of achieving metropolitan desegregation, Briggs' thinking is perhaps reflected in these passages from the same article:

> " A thread that must run through all efforts to improve schools is more effective communication. Parents must be more actively involved in the education of their children. Administrators, supervisors, teachers, clerical workers, and custodial employees must be aware and sensitive to the needs of people in the communities they serve. The school can no longer be an island separate from the community it serves, but must be a center of activity, conversation, and concern for the entire community family." ...(But) "As we move toward the solution of our problems, care will be needed to avoid the empire building, community fracturing, agency competition, and duplication of services and functions that have caused the failure of so many previous projects.
>
> If our efforts tomorrow are to be more than exercises in futility, our attention and resources must be directed at helping people solve their problems rather than dissipated in jurisdictional squabbles between agencies."

The superintendent's report did mention that "we must give our individual schools, the staff and the principals a greater degree of involvement in the process of decision making." However, the school administration believes that the problem is to find the decisions which principals can most effectively make. The Cleveland system, in any event, is not moving toward any form of administrative decentralization on a geographical or district basis. The system is presently organized into one high school district and three elementary school districts, each of which has a directing principal. Administrative circles prefer a uniform curriculum in which the entire system is subject to minimum standards and similar curriculum. He maintains that teachers can go beyond the minimum, but it must be done on an individual basis, and through the introduction of more variegated supplies, rather than on a regional basis. There is the problem of transiency, and the problem of categorizing people within ghetto schools, some of whom could benefit by more advanced curriculum. Moreover, the administration feels that decentralization would tend to increase sectionalism and the power of ward councilmen to exert pressure on the school system. Decentralization would sharpen segregation. Administrative members feel that decentralization might be more appropriate in a gigantic system like Chicago or New York, but doubts that it will work even there.

To the extent that the members of the school administration reflect the official posture of the system, it can be said that the Cleveland School System is also suspicious of most forms of citizen participation in decision making; and, even more than that, it will resist community efforts in this direction. There appears to be several reasons, or rationalizations, for this position including:

a) the belief that the professionals are better prepared to make educational decisions than are amateur laymen. It is believed that teachers will not accept control by laymen, with power to fire them arbitrarily, and will leave the system. The model implicitly used here is that of the physician prescribing treatment for the ill patient. He recognizes that there are some bad teachers but his answer is that the profession itself needs to do a better job of policing itself in order to stem the tide of public criticism. Mr. Theobold does not believe that the meetings which educators have held with local citizens committees have been productive; he feels that these meetings are dominated by extremists who are not able or ready to present feasible programs.

b) Citizen committees have tended to be coopted by a small group of uncompromising radicals who are out to destroy the system rather than to work constructively with school officials to improve it. Moreover, Theobold feels that very few of these radicals have children in school, and ergo the parents themselves are not pressuring for community control; and the vocal lay committees do not necessarily reflect the needs or aspirations of the community.

c) Neighborhood control is not legal since the central board cannot delegate its responsibilities in this way. It also raises questions about how the neighborhood boards could be representatively selected, and, more important, about how to finance schools in poor neighborhoods. Also, it would splinter the community even further.

d) Finally, the narrow concept of community schools controlled by parents who themselves did not have doors opened up to them will result in demands for a separate and black curriculum which will keep their children from becoming better assimilated into the society.

The difference between the thinking of the school system and certain influential citizen groups recently came to a head when the superintendent of schools proposed that a school-community coordinator be hired for each school in the district for the purpose of strengthening the relationships between schools and communities. Since this has since become a focal issue, it will be described briefly here. The superintendent's annual report mentions (on page 5-6) that:

> "With parents we must develop a sense of partnership as they join the planning team for the improvement of the education of their children. To implement this latest step, we shall soon recommend the appointment of an administrative assistant to the principal for community-parent relations -- a person who will be part of the community and will work with the principal actively involving all parents in the education of their children. In addition, he will coordinate activities among the schools and send children to the high school."

The school board was about to consider this proposal, with an eye toward implementing it, when a number of groups in the community,including the Urban League and the League of Women Voters raised opposition.

## The Urban Coalition's Position

The Urban Coalition asked the school board to defer any decision of this issue until a series of forums could be held to identify components of a good community school program. It was maintained by the groups opposing this proposal that: (a) there are no structures at present for ascertaining whether or not the community approved the person or persons who were to be appointed in this school-community coordinator position; (b) Moreover, there are several communities in a particular high school district; (c) finally, and most important, it was felt that the person who held this position would become another community official acting as little more than a pipeline for complaints. It was this issue which triggered the neighborhood forum on community participation.

The Director of the Coalition believes that it is likely that the forums this month will produce recommendations for local school boards modeled along the lines of a bill now in Michigan which provides for the following:

(1) representatives for the central board to run on a district basis as well as representatives who run at large.

(2) the election of district school boards in addition to the central school board.

(3) a clearly spelled out division of authority between the central and district boards, giving the district boards the right to recommend all professional staff and to fire professional staff (who in turn have the right to appeal to the central board); to set curriculum within broad guidelines established by the central board.

(4) The central board, however, would have final control over all budgetary matters, including the fiscal responsibilities for taxes in the community at large. The Director believes that locally elected boards would be responsible for several improvements, including:

(a) curricula would be developed that is more relevant to preparing inner city children to live with reality rather than simply to go to college;

(b) the schools would be held more accountable for what happens to the children, instead of graduating children who can read at only a sixth grade level.

(c) the black child would develop an improved self-image and community's confidence and pride in their school would be increased;

(d) improved attitudes on the part of teachers, who will no longer be shielded by Civil Service protections, and who will learn to understand the boundaries and the limitations of professional expertise.

The Director also sees some risks in this proposal, including:

(a) there is no assurance that the best and most representative people will be elected to the board (he concedes that in any democratic process it is possible that the extremists will get control);

(b) community control will increase the competition among local communities for funds;

(c) administrators may be able to continue to manipulate neighborhood school boards as they have the the P.T.A.'s.

In any event, he predicts more outbreaks unless the school system is willing to consider the possibility of locally elected school boards.

## Activities of the Cleveland School System

For sake of convenience, the activities of the Cleveland schools will be described in terms of the categories suggested in the cells of Table 1.

### Expert Consultation (Type I)

1. A large number of committees are used composed of business people who advise in the technical curriculum problems involved in vocational and technical education programs. For example, experts are called upon to advise the school system of trends in supply and demand and needed machinery for courses in data processing.

2. Technical advisors also are used extensively in a city-wide Supplementary Education Center. Each third grade and sixth grade class in the city spend a few days at the center each year in racially mixed classrooms composed of students from various parts of the city. This year, for example, an astronaut spoke to students about the space program.

3. Businessmen from the community are utilized in an advisory capacity with

a work-study program, designed to return drop-outs to school. There is also a related program to provide work experience for children in banks.

4. A visiting scholars program is designed to bring in writers, poets, artists and educators to talk with teachers and department chairmen for several days each. This year a Negro writer, for example, worked with teachers on black literature. During the past year about 30 outside speakers were used. In addition, most local schools used ten to twelve outside speakers, some of whom were members of the indigenous community.

Lay Consultation (Type III)

1. There is a city-wide Student Council which has been responsible for the adoption of a city-wide dress code, and which has made recommendations to the school board for more effective use of studentsin advisory capacities in the schools, including provisions for working with the staff informally to communicate student concerns and grievances. The council has also proposed dropping all eligibility criteria for membership on the student council, such as grade point average.

2. All federal programs require the appointment of lay citizens' advisory committees. In total, there are 77 Advisory Citizens Committees with a total membership of 706 individuals. There is very little evidence on how these committees have been used, although it appears that some of these committees are being used in only token ways.

One exception is a city wide Parents Advisory Committee, for the pre-school and early childhood Head Start Programs appointed from parents of children in the program. Cleveland operates a pre-kindergarten program, for inner city target areas, a kindergarten enrichment program in 48 inner city schools, a Summer Head Start program, and a follow through program (Pre-K through 2). The parent advisory committees are elected at the classroom level, which in turn select representatives to the city wide Advisory Council. (Details of the general structure of Head Start may be found in a booklet entitled Head Start.) Councils meet once a month. In each classroom, one day a week is devoted to parents' meetings. The activities vary, but reportedly crafts and paintings and slide demonstrations are used as vehicles to discuss mutual problems. Also each parent observes classes four times a year; over 4,000 parents visited schools last year.

One theme of the program emphasizes the "parent as educator". The activities include: use of parents in class as volunteers (for some reason mixed with volunteers from the suburbs); training of parents by the research department to do simple testing and survey work; use of bi-lingual parents as aides to work with families; a newsletter jointly edited by staff and parents; art shows exhibiting work of both parents and students, using parents as hosts and hostesses.

These Headstart participants appear to have had some influence on the program. Reportedly (though this is difficult to believe) they urged the system to cut Head Start class meetings for their own children from two to four days so that twice as many children can be served. Also, the breakfast program was initiated at the suggestion of parents who felt that this was a more important meal than lunch. They also reportedly have applied pressure on the school board and the city to get needed facilities; while many of them are critical, reportedly they have not been destructively negative about it. There has been an increase in participation in schools at a time when traditional P.T.A.'s have been dwindling; children have shown gains of more than one year in reading readiness in a sixth month period; and the recent levy received the largest mandate in the history of the Cleveland Schools. Nevertheless, it is reported that some teachers and parents do not like the program.

Parent Involvement (Type V)

1. The school has published a series of bilingual teaching guides which have been sent home to parents with the hope that the parent will be better prepared to help his children with his school work. The program, entitled "The Succeed in School Program", consists of a series of brochures, printed in both English and Spanish, designed to acquaint illiterate parents with the basic curriculum used in school, the report card system and other school programs. Parents and children

are encouraged to visit the Art Museum, Aquarium, Health Museum and Zoo and to make use of other free cultural opportunities in the city. The brochures also explain how to help the kindergarten through sixth grade child at home in reading, writing and arithmetic. Catholic schools -- St. Francis on the east side and St. Patrick's on the west side also participate in this program. This program is funded through the General Fund and is available to all children. The exception being that the brochures printed in the Spanish language are still funded under Title I.

2. English as a Second Language is being used at five public schools and two Catholic schools. Seven itinerant teachers work with eight indiginous teacher-aides (one per school) who act as a bridge between the child's class and the home. According to one administrator, while there is sometimes a color difference, there is always a cultural difference. One teacher serves as a Spanish resource teacher. This teacher obtains material to help the children keep their heritage to the extent of traveling to Puerto Rico to see the heritage first-hand. A spanish-speaking social worker who visits the homes is also included in this program.

3. The Child Development Project. This is billed as "a unique educational experience, designed to reduce the cultural gap and increase the child's readiness to enter kindergarten successfully". It seeks to help the four year old child to develop communication skills and experiences to succeed in kindergarten. This is a weekly parent involvement so the parent becomes aware of the goals of the program. The participation of parents is reportedly excellent. Parents are also encouraged to assist in the classroom once a week.

4. There is a Volunteer Program designed to allow laymen to assist with any program. Where money is needed, it is funded under A.D.C.

5. The Kindergarten Enrichment Project. This program for kindergarten children in high poverty areas includes activities for parents such as classroom observation, printed materials, invitations to group activities and opportunities to assist in classrooms and on trips.

6. The Child-Family-Society Relationships Project. This is a program for 5200 sixth grade pupils in 54 elementary schools, which includes a three week section on social development (i.e., relationships with family members and friends). It includes a parent education program in each school "to enable parents to understand what their pupils are learning".

7. The Child-School-Community Relationships Project. The stated purpose of this program is to improve communication between school and community through volunteer services of professional and non-professional adults in the community. It aims also to assist parents to be better informed and more competent in home and community. The program is described below. Pupils are identified by parents and classroom teachers. A coordinator meets with parents and coordinates the work of volunteers and cooperating agencies. The program is part of a Coalition among 21 elementary and secondary schools in the Glenville area.

### Lay Participation in Decisions (Type IV)

1. A half dozen citizen's groups have developed around schools -- outside of the PTA's and official organs -- reflecting public dissatisfaction with the schools and deepening alienation. Among these citizen's committees are:

John Hay Concerned Parents
Rawlings Support for Progress through Education
Glenville School-Community Project
John Marshall Committee

Also, the Cleveland Committee for Improved Education acts as a city-wide umbrella to coordinate the efforts of these local committees.

It also should be noted that historically, Cleveland was a pioneer in the concept of area associations based on geographical regions of the city; the Hough and Glenville association in particular, continue to be active.

2. The central office administrators have met in community settings with committees representing American Indians and with the Spanish-American Committee for a Better Community in order to discuss education issues. Also, in-service meetings have been scheduled for principals of schools having large proportions of Spanish speaking children; officials are looking for materials and speakers

to use in their in-service training sessions.

3. Cleveland is one of the few cities in the nation in which a group of private citizens has succeeded in getting funds from OEO for a second Head Start Program operated independently of the school system.

4. Several principals in the system apparently are making special efforts to use citizens' school advisory committees. Some of the schools mentioned which may be doing more in this respect include:

Rawlings High School
Captain Roth School
Washington Irving School
John F. Kennedy School
Mary B. Morton School
Lincoln High School
Glenville High School
John W. Raper School

Two of these efforts were explored and will be briefly described below.

Rawlings Supporters of Progress Through Education. Last spring, students of Rawlings High School walked out on a strike precipitated by the transfer of a student because he had operated a movie projector showing what school officials believed to be a "pornographic film", but one which had been endorsed by a faculty member and his assistant. The students also were demonstrating for coeducational recreation programs during the noon hour and after school. Though violence had been threatened, the principal refused to permit police to enter the building. A weekend of crisis developed during which the principal solicited the assistance of several community leaders, including ministers and representatives of a social service agency called the Garden Valley Training Center for Applied Social Science. After long discussions with these groups, they rallied behind the principal and the school was reopened.

Rawlings Supporters of Progress Through Education is an outgrowth of this incident. It consists of the principal, two teacher representatives, one student representative for each grade level, one parent representative for each home room and one representative of any interested community group. The organization carries out projects internally and sees itself as a pressure organization vis-a-vis the school board. Among accomplishments claimed are:

(1) appointment of an additional assistant principal and the organization of the unit principal system;

(2) securing improvements in the school, such as new curtains in the auditorium;

(3) agreement that any teacher who wants to come to Rawlings will be assigned there, so as to get teachers who are most interested in the school;

(4) authority to hire security guards to keep out outsiders who disrupt classes.

It also has instituted a two-day institute for new teachers, students and their parents, at which critical issues are discussed, such as : how teachers can prepare themselves to teach by understanding the community, whether teachers have different values than parents, what white teachers expect of black students and the reverse, etc. Also weekly one hour small group meetings will be held throughout the year consisting of groups of the following composition: (a) groups of five teachers, balanced by experience and race; (b) groups of three teachers and three students, balanced by experience and grade level; (c) groups of five students balanced by grade level. The purpose of these meetings is to discuss experiences and problems, and to give each other support, suggestions and insight. A monthly seminar also has been proposed to discuss topics such as: discipline and punishment, school-community relations, aggression, why there isn't more learning going at Rawlings, etc. Other recommendations require that homeroom teachers visit students at least once a year during the home room periods and that more emphasis be given to selecting teachers who will work with the community.

Though still skeptical, the principal is supporting the organization. He reports that the opening week of school has been the quietest in his five years there and he sees major improvements in the noise level between classes and cleanliness in the halls. He attributes these changes partly to the assistant principals hired this year (secured via pressure from the Rawlings Supporters), who helped with discipline problems, and partly to the greater commitment which teachers seem to be showing toward the school, which he feels may stem from orientation institutes and small group sessions. He also believes that the attitudes of parents -- in support of authority in general and the school in particular -- must be changed before students will be willing to commit themselves to the school; the alienation and cynicism of parents carries over into the students. He feels that some ofthis cooperation is being elicited through the Rawlings supporters. He notes also that the teachers seem to have more security through the Rawlings supporters and feel free to come in and talk to him about anything, which they were reluctant to do before. He is often under pressure, but recognizes that pressures may be needed to force him to consider desirable changes.

(Note: But one cannot escape noting that the original incentive for this committee was that it proved to be instrumental to the administration in its bout with students, and that it offers the means of harnessing community power to better serve the school's purposes with respect to the school board. From the principal's point of view, there are also problems inherent in this dimension of power which underlies the Rawlings Supporter. For, there is the constant threat that the organization will get out of hand. It has tended to attract some radical teachers, giving them a vehicle for power. Apparently the organization is now distributing literature espousing the advantages of violence and summarizing civil rights data showing that segregation is harmful to children. It is this dimension of the program which seems to make the principal cautious about the degree of support he is willing to give it.)

Glenville Schools Project. This experimental project, originally funded by private foundation, is the closest approximation in Cleveland to decentralization, and it seems to entail the most systematic effort to involve parents. Although it has not been in operation since mid-1968 -- it is being revived with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Twenty-one elementary and junior high schools which feed into the Glenville High School are included in the project and are required to participate. The director is attached to the high school principal's office.

The focal point of activities are families, i.e., the sibs and parents of children at various stages in their school careers. The schools, located in more than one attendance district, cooperate on attendance and health problems of given families. They attempt to bring about better coordination between elementary, junior and senior highs by exchanging staff and arranging for students to observe in new schools before being promoted. (There is also a felt need for home visitors and school social workers which the schools cannot at the present time afford.)

There is a parallel organization of P.T.A.'s consisting of the leadership of the PTA's of each of the 21 schools. A brochure has been prepared explaining to parents how they can help their children learn and listing phone numbers of key agencies they can contact for help with various types of problems. Also, the cooperation among the schools seems to have congealed the cooperation of members of this formerly Jewish community. Groups of Jewish organizations are providing volunteers to assist with problems that have been jointly identified by them and school officials. One volunteer organization concentrates on high achievers; over 100 lay counselors are matched with students and provide information on colleges and scholarships and takes students to visit prospective colleges. Another organization concentrates on low achievers, and is organized around the "Big Brother" and "Big Sister" concepts. Another group emphasizes vocational guidance, exposing high school students to various careers, including visits to job sites.

Plans for this coming year are aimed at establishing better lines of communication between school and community. They include establishing a monthly neighborhood news letter; utilizing church bulletins and mass media for informing the public about school affairs; establishing better coordination with other community organizations for the purpose of better assisting parents with housing, health, etc.; compiling a list of community resources identifying persons and organizations in the community and what they can offer to the school as volunteers; establishing monthly meetings of principals and P.T.A. and other leaders, and a quarterly "town hall" meeting in neighborhoods to provide information on levees, new teachers, new programs, and to hear the community's side of the story; initiating informal pot-luck suppers for each home room once a year; preparing information about the school on such matters as suspension procedures to the dress code and information on drugs and sex; starting of a community theater. There are also plans to request certain businesses to give workers time off to permit fathers to participate in school activities (as they do for jury duty).

The major problem with these programs is that teachers have been reluctant to participate in them. In particular, they do not have the time or the inclination, apparently, to visit homes and work more directly with the community.

Those involved in this project are advocating decentralization of authority. They are finding that, in order to move in the desired directions, it is necessary for principals to have more direct control over hiring than they at present have. They now have no voice in the budget, and they only can recommend for hiring. Principals are not seeking to influence the selection of new teachers by providing orientation programs to new teachers and to student teachers. But they would like to have more opportunity to recruit and to have final authority over hiring. The Glenville administrators may request that this kind of authority be delegated to principals. Yet, while it is possible that the central administration would entertain the proposal, the prospects are very uncertain.

There seem to be several assumptions behind this project. One is that there is a latent concern among members of the community to participate in schools, which normally lies beneath the surface, but which becomes manifest in a negative way during crises. This project, then, is designed to provide more positive channels of participation. It is pointed out that schools traditionally have called upon the local community for support only during the times of bond issues and seldom have been willing to share with them their problems or the opportunity to participate in their solutions.

A second assumption is actually an extension of the first, namely, that once parents are well informed, they will consider themselves to be partners in the school. Hence, not only will they be unswayed by a few people out to destroy the system, but further, they will become ardent supporters of the school and apply direct pressures on the school board in support of the local school. (In other words, the program is aimed partially at coopting the fence straddlers and at channeling their potential political influence.)

A third assumption is more pedagogical. Attitudes of parents are seen as important determinants of how the child learns. It is felt that children must be encouraged at home and will not get encouragement if parents do not respect or understand the school, if they feel alienated and if they are ignorant of what they can do to help.

Finally, there is some suggestion that the school might be better able to accomplish its own objectives if the school were to assume a more central role in coordinating community agencies and helping parents to solve their more basic problems of housing, unemployment, etc.

(It is not clear which of these presumptions predominate in this case. However, reading between the lines, there seems to be a strong component of "parent education" together with a sophisticated emphasis on public relations. It is possible that parental participation is seen as a vehicle for not only coopting parents but for explaining the improvements which schools have made and demonstrating the school's concern for, and competance to deal with its problems.)

While parents have had some influences on policy -- the volunteer program came out of a school-community committee -- the officials in charge of the project do not see it developing into local school boards or other forms of community control. Rather, they are convinced that, while parents want to be heard, they do not want the responsibility that goes with control; i.e., they do not want to hire and fire teachers or determine curriculum. Insofar as parents use their power, it is felt, it will be in the form of pressures on the school, and more preferably on the school board, to get the kinds of facilities and support which professional educators need to solve their problems.

## Other Instructional Programs

There are several programs funded by Title I which, though not directly relevant, can be noted:[1]

Camping project in the fall gave selected city sixth graders a chance to spend a week living in the kind of setting they have known only in books.

Extended school day program keeps 18 elementary schools open for an extra hour, five days a week, with supervised study and recreation activities.

Staff development provides continuing work-shops and in-service training for inner-city teachers, with two centralized display and distribution centers for new materials.

School supplies are furnished at no cost to needy youngsters so everyone has weekly current events papers, workbooks, crayons, paints, pencils, gym shoes, and miscellaneous small supplies that more affluent parents have no trouble providing.

Reading improvement service, in its second year, depends on the very special service of 20 teachers who last year were relieved of all regular teaching duties and were retrained as reading specialists.

Child development centers at 40 locations offer a semester of preschool training to some 1,600 4½-year-olds before they enter kindergarten, with strong emphasis on parent involvement.

---

[1] From the National Elementary Principal, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, January, 1967.

Kindergarten follow-up, new this year, stays with those who were in pre-schools or summer Head Start, and will help to guarantee that diagnosed health, speech, and adjustment problems will be cared for.

Free Breakfast Program. Initiation of the free breakfast program for over 27,000 children focused national attention on the Cleveland schools. Regular attendance in the inner-city schools, a persistent problem, was alleviated by 10 percent in those 29 elementary schools now participating in the free breakfast program. As equipment and a method of preparing lunches becomes available, the hot lunch program as offered in all secondary schools will be expanded. The system is experimenting with frozen lunches to be heated in special ovens at the school.

## School Integration

"In 1960, greater Cleveland earned the distinction of being the most segregated community in America, in the sense of containment of non-whites within the central city. In the nine years following the Supreme Court's historic decision that separate is not equal in education, the percentage of Negro pupils attending totally segregated public schools in Cleveland more than quadrupled."[1]

### Neighborhood School Policy

Since assuming leadership of the Cleveland school system in 1964, Superintendent Briggs has imaginatively and arduously labored for "neighborhood" school policy, stating that use of bus transportation of pupils to increase integration is "logistically impossible", referring to Cleveland's inadequate network of streets. "The best way to get the Negro out of the ghetto is to give him the tools -- a good education," according to Dr. Briggs. "Does raising of the total system thereby provide an adequate education for the ghettoized Negro?"

The "neighborhood school" concept of education is the plan of operation in Cleveland and has the continuing support of the Board of Education and the

---

[1] Time, February 9, 1968.

Superintendent. Superintendent Briggs stated in his first report to the Board of Education, "I have concluded that where segregation exists in some of the Cleveland schools, this has not been by intentional design of the Cleveland Public Schools."

A Policy Statement from the Board of Education to eliminate de facto segregation is one of the most important steps taken in the school systems studied. Racial Isolation in the Cleveland Public Schools states: "The Policy Statement on Human Relations, adopted by the Cleveland Board of Education, July 26, 1966, is a theoretical resolution and inadequate in light of the problems and consequences of segregation in Cleveland."

PACE

In the greater Cleveland area, the PACE Association has been working on a program with six suburban systems in an attempt to encourage integrated educational experiences. PACE, at first, approached each suburban system about adopting a policy on integration with only Cleveland Heights affirmatively responding. Two schools in the suburban systems participated in a compulsory course on Human Relations for all teachers lasy year. PACE is also promoting active recruitment of Negro teachers for the suburbs and has created a course in Human Relations using films such as "Raisin in the Sun", television tapes, etc. for presentation and discussion in suburban schools. Encouraged by the success of the program last fall, PACE is currently seeking funds to continue and expand the program to 25 more school districts by September, 1969.

Supplementary Centers

Centers which draw from a wide area are being used to deal with racial isolation. It is hoped that if expanded into so-called "magnet schools" and "educational parks", and include a majority of the city's school children, they will provide a transition step toward full integration. However, they are limited in Cleveland's program at present.

## Downtown High School

In September, 1966, Superintendent Briggs stated in his report to the Board of Education, "We shall develop a model high quality city-wide integrated high school ..." This plan has been developed but construction activity has not materialized because of the unavailability of funds.

## Supplementary Learning Center

Initially financed with $343,916. from Title III funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, this center's function is to provide at a central location, services that cannot be found at any neighborhood school and to create a new kind of program that will bring together public and parochial school pupils of all races and backgrounds and educational experience.

In its first year of operation, all the sixth grade children from the Cleveland School District, public and parochial, visited the Center on two separate days. This year the program was expanded to include all third graders and a music program for all fifth graders is currently being planned for next year. According to the brochure, the Supplementary Learning Center combines racial integration as well as education enrichment. As the children from different sections of the city arrive at the center, they number off and move through the center in their newly formed "mixed" groups. The same schools are paired at the second visit. In the past, the children have been free to reunite with their classmates at the lunch period, thereby losing the opportunity to add further meaning and depth to the integrated experience. Therefore, the director and coordinators of the programs have decided to continue the number grouping through the lunch period, utilizing a simple human experience to promote better understanding.

One floor is devoted to science, with a small planetarium as its centerpiece. Exhibits ring the area, and there are classrooms for small demonstrations.

On another floor is a "heritage of Cleveland" center. Here is a mock-up of a country store, complete with cracker barrel. And there, the inside of a log cabin. There is a city map big enough for a child to walk on.

On its top floor is a very elegant restaurant. Twice a week, six of the children visiting the Supplementary Center are luncheon guests of a prominent Cleveland civic leader or businessman at the new Erieview Plaza, a 38-story office building.

Other floors are being developed for music and art. The music project, pioneered during the summer, involves small classes taught by members of the Cleveland Composers Guild, concerts by various ensembles and small group and individual instruction.

Textbooks

Superintendent Briggs has remarked on the lack of commercially prepared textbooks depicting the pluralistic nature of our society. Many of the materials now used in Cleveland have been written by the Cleveland staff. The League of Women Voters has been critical of the textbooks, and point out that the basic reading materials used in the Cleveland system have not been changed in approximately fourteen years, and that publishers did not begin printing integrated material before this time. Since then many major textbook publishers have produced materials which carry the integration message including integrated revisions of materials used in Cleveland. The League is especially critical of the fact that Cleveland attempts to answer demands for use of integrated teaching materials by the use of supplementary materials. These supplementary materials are not made available to every child as are basic materials, and their use is left to the discretion of teachers and principals.

An example of Cleveland's approach to the problem is the recently developed elementary spelling series whose message of integration is carried to the pupil via minute illustrations of white and brown faces.

There are plans underway to bring into the Cleveland curriculum at the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade levels, instruction on the history of the Negro in America in the Social Studies. Cleveland has developed its own material and is now looking for a publisher. The LWV report notes that it is questionable that a text written for fifth graders can be used effectively by eleventh graders or vice versa, but this is the Cleveland system's present solution to the use of integrated text books.

## In-Service Training

A League of Women Voters' report recently concluded that there are no special courses for training inner-city teachers by the Board of Education. Local schools, whether they are in the inner-city or in the advantaged areas, hold their own classes or meetings. The length of these meetings is controlled by union rates (The Cleveland Teachers' Union and the Custodians' Union). At the end of the stipulated union time, the teacher may leave even though the meeting may not be over. At 4:30 everyone must leave, including the principal, for the Custodian's Union rule states that a building must be locked at 4:30 p.m.

In-service training courses have been made available to all the employees of the Cleveland Public Schools to improve their awareness of the changing requirements for working in an urban school system. These courses are not mandatory so that the most timely courses, for example - Black History, may be virtually unattended because of lack of teacher interest.

Cleveland is still losing teachers -- new, good and poor. The primary reasons are overcrowded classrooms (with little relief in the future for some areas), lack of updated books and supplies, the attitude of some principals and administrators.

Clevdand is beginning to see a new trend -- young principals resigning due to the fact they do not have strong unions and must satisfy conflicting demands from downtown, unions, parents and community.

# A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND

## I. Racial Composition and Population Size

Size of metropolitan area 2 million (11th largest in U.S.)

Size of the city of Cleveland 810,000 (100,000 fewer than in 1950)

Percent Negro in Metropolitan area 14%

Percent Negro in Cleveland - 1950 16%

1965 34%

1970 (est) 40% - 300,000

Negro as Percent of Non-white 99.1%

## II. Racial Distribution

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 95% Negro

1965 50%

1950 33%

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% Negro

1965 85%

1950 66%

Comments:

Total segregation increase from 1910-1930 and has remained stable. School age population is slightly more segregated than older ages. At all income levels, white families are segregated from non-white families.

### Eight Most Heavily Negro social Planning Areas, 1965

| District | Percent Negro | Density | Median Family Income | % Below Poverty Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hough | 88% | 45.8 | 6117. | 38.9 |
| Glenville | 94% | 34.5 | 5085. | 20.9 |
| Central East | 95% | 31.8 | 2984. | 32.0 |
| Central | 98% | 21.0 | - | 29.6 |
| Central West | 80% | 14.8 | 3966. | 47.3 |
| Kinsman | 72% | 16.0 | 3887. | 39.9 |
| Mt. Pleasant | 89% | - | 6513. | 15.7 |
| Lee Miles | 72% | - | - | - |

### Additional Facts Concerning the High Negro Density Areas:

Median Family Income in year - 1964 - $4,050 (4,400 families below poverty level)

Size of area Six square miles

Population 60,000 - Complete turnover since 1940, population more than doubled during the decade of the 1950's.

Number of elementary schools in area 10 elementary schools serve the area, 7 of them built since 1954.

Delinquency rate up 300% since 1940

Population Density Almost 300% greater than city as a whole - 45.8 people per acre and 2½ times greater than Kinsman

School Enrollment Up more than 100% since 1950

Unemployment Same as city in 1940, more than 200% of city rate in 1967.

Public Welfare up 700% since 1950 in both number of cases and proportion of total expended in Cleveland

Income Level Down 12% since 1960 while for city as a whole up 16%.

Out of school youth Rate 200% greater than city average.

## III. Poverty Levels

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard - In most of the Negro areas at least 25% of housing is substandard, in Central the figure is 60%.

Percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3000 - At least one-fourth of the families in Negro areas had incomes below $3000. in 1960 and had less than an 8th grade education; in Central the figures were both one-half.

Unemployment Rates in the City of Cleveland:

| Date | Average | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| July, 1965 | 5.4% | 8.9% | 2.4% |
| July, 1964 | 6.8% | - | - |
| July, 1960 | 7.6% | 9-18% | - |

Comments: The City of Cleveland was listed among major cities with substantial proportions of persistent unemployment until June, 1965 when employment conditions improved.

# A PROFILE OF THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL SYSTEM

## I. Size of the System

Total number of schools 180 date 1969

No. of elementary schools 135 date 1965

No. of Junior schools 21 date 1965

No. of Senior High schools 13 date 1965

No. of students 154,000 date 1969

## II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff and Students

### A. Staff

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Negro Teachers | | 43% |
| Negroes in white schools | | 5% |
| Negroes in Negro schools | | 73% |
| In elementary schools | | 76% |
| In Senior High schools | | 53% |
| Certified personnel | 5,915 | |
| Classroom teachers | 5,270 | |

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.) 30.7

(sec.) 26.3

Mean years experience (teachers) 8.6

% first year teachers 10.3

% non-degree 6.5

% B.A. 63.6

% M.A. 29.8

Salary - minimum (Bach) $6250.

maximum (Bach) $7600.

Note: The beginning teaching salaries are higher than in the surrounding school systems listed, with one exception. This higher rate of pay, however, does not continue as the teacher gains experience, so that many teachers are lost to the Cleveland system.

B. Students

Negro enrollment in elementary schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1952 | | 29% |
| 1963 | | 54% |
| 1969 | | 57%* |

*Note: Non-white school age population is 34%, but 2/5% of the whites send children to private schools.

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1952 | 16,000 | |
| 1963 | 44,500 | |

Comments:

92% of Cleveland's public school pupils are attending segregated white or Negro schools (using 80% as the index of racial predominance).

Of 94,000 elementary students, 34,770 attend schools with a population 95 to 100% white, and 50,379 attend schools with a population of 95 to 100% Negro.

Between 1955 and 1965 - 27 schools were built; all of which opened with predominantly Negro or White student bodies.

Student Performance

| Test Score (date: 1965 )<br>(Standardized) | Schools 95-100%<br>Negro | White |
|---|---|---|
| Grade 2 | 97.6 | 105.9 |
| Grade 4 | 91.4 | 100.5 |
| Grade 6 | 90.1 | 97.7 |
| Grade 8 | 92.6 | 103.1 |
| Stanford Reading Achievement | | |
| End of 3rd Year | 3.4 | 4.3 |
| End of 6th Year | 6.4 | 7.5 |

C. School Board

Method of selection: The Cleveland School Board is electdd at large.

Number of Negroes on School Board: There are presently two Negroes on the board, neither of whom live in the inner city, lower class neighborhoods. At least one of the Negroes, however, reportedly tries to work for inner city citizens.

Members of the Cleveland Board of Education

Daniel O. Corrigan, President
1380 East Sixth Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
Attorney, Corrigan and Gill

Arnold R. Pinkney, Vice-President
2131 Fairhill Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44116
President, Pinkney-Perry Ins. Co.

William F. Boyd
1005 East Boulevard
Cleveland, Ohio 44108
Funeral Director, E.F. Boyd & Sons

Hugh Calkins
1750 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
Lawyer, Jones, Day Cockley & Reavis

George Dobrea
One Terminal Tower
Cleveland, Ohio 44113
Vice-President, Saunders, Stiver & Co.

Joseph M. Gallagher
1380 East Sixth Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
Aide to Congressman Michael A. Feighan

Mrs. Edna C. Shalala
9412 Madison Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44102
Engaged in the general practice of law.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CLEVELAND

U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *Hearings* for Cleveland, April, 1966, Supt. of Documents, No. CR1,8:059

Cleveland Public Schools Bulletin 1967 (weekly)

The League of Women Voters of Cleveland, "Cleveland Public School Study (DHR)", May, 1968, mimeo

Richau, Willard, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, sponsored by U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967 ( A copy of the study has not been located).

Briggs, Paul W., "Thoughts One Year Later", *Illinois Schools Journal*, Vol. 49, Spring, 1969, pp. 28-37.

OEA, *Research Report*, "Survey of School Personnel", Vol. XXI, July, 1967.

OEA, *Research Report*, "Economic Survey of Ohio School Teachers", Vol. XXII, October, 1968.

Taeuber, Karl E., "Population Distribution and Residential Segregation in Cleveland" 1966 (A special report prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights).

Files on decentralization are available at OEA and at the Cleveland League of Women Voters

*********

"Bibliography: Decentralization", compiled by Dorothy Christiansen, April, 1968 Center for Urban Education (includes chronological listing of Articles from *New York Times*.)

Brain, George, "Progress Report, School District Organization and the Big Cities", October, 1967 (Dr. Brain is Dean, College of Education, Washington State University and was head of Ohio Big City Study which was part of State Education Department's School Org. Study).

Cronin, Joseph, "The Board of Education in the 'Great Cities', 1890-1964", Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1965.

Cunningham, Lavern and Ray O. Nystrand, *Citizen Participation in School Affairs: A Report to the Urban Coalition*, 1969

Summary of team evaluations of school-community relations in 13 cities. Includes short summaries by city: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Detroit, Duluth, Huntsville, Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia, Rochester, Rockford, San Francisco.

Fusco, Gene, *School-Home Partnership in Depressed Urban Neighborhood*, USDHEW (GRO, 1964).

Describes programs in schools serving five large urban school districts in 1964: Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and St. Louis.

Howells, Paul K. "Professional and Lay Participation in the Central Administration of Ohio's City and Exempted Village School Systems", O.S.U. (Ph.D. Dissertation), 1956.

Gorden, Edmund W. & Dorsey Wilkerson, Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged, College Entrance Exam Board, 1966

An inventory of specific programs. Included a (superficial treatment) section of community involvement and school-home-parent relations (pp. 86-121).

Johnson, Carroll F. and Michael D. Usden, Decentralization and Racial Integration, Teachers College, 1968.

12 essays - see "contents" of p. vii-viii.

"Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders", Education Section, pp. 424-456. Bantam (paper) 1968.

Weinberg, Meyer, Integrated Education: A Reader, Free Press, 1968.

Reprint of articles on desegregation, including articles on the Allen Report (NYC), Survey of California schools, a parents' committee in NYC, bibliographies.

## CHAPTER 3

# PARTIAL ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION IN PHILADELPHIA

### Introduction

Philadelphia is a city in which within a twenty year period, the proportion of Negro population has nearly doubled. The 1970 estimated percentage of Negro population is at a level of nearly one-third or 31 per cent. Unemployment for Negroes is high. In 1968 it was at the 6 per cent level. In the areas of the city in which the Negro population is concentrated, 27% of the housing is substandard. In these eight areas of the city, six have a median family income of below $5000 a year. Two of these areas have a median family income below $4000. a year. About 2/3 of the total Negro population is concentrated in census tracts in which the Negro population is at 70 per cent or more.

These densely concentrated Negro areas of the city supply about 60% of the pupils in the Philadelphia School System. This same school system is served by about a one-third (33%) Negro staff. In those city schools which have dense concentrations of Negro pupils, Negroes constitute 49% of the staff. Philadelphia presents a pattern similar to other cities of dense concentrated Negro areas for housing and schooling of its population, although this concentration is not as dense as that of the city of Washington, D.C.

### The Community School

Concern for the city school system came to the forefront in 1966. A coalition of businessmen, concerned civic groups and civil rights leaders elected a reform Board of Education in that year. The new Board immediately undertook the development of improved relationships between itself, its administrative staff, and the community. The view adopted by the Board was that the school system needs the community in order to remain viable and become more effective. The new Board expressed an interest in further community involvement and the end result was a set of policies the Board adopted with the opening up of the way for greater community participation in school affairs. It also expressed itself as concerned with a greater responsiveness to community demands.

The Philadelphia School System has moved to a partial administrative decentralization through a further centralization of the system's decision-making process. The Board adopted the idea of the "community school" by reorganizing four such schools with Title III funds. These four schools were placed on after-hour, year round use of the school plant. Guidelines for the school program were prepared in close cooperation with local civic groups and local advisory councils were established to oversee and plan these activities. This initial movement for local participation emphasized that the local school community use ita schools more effectively, that it not participate in the daily curricula life of the school.

## Model School District

Another adventure into community control by the Philadelphia School System was a proposal for a model school district. The concept involved re-enforcing the Board's commitment to work more closely with the community and meeting still another commitment to work with local universities in formulating new approaches for urban schools. The schools serving the model school district were to be placed under the direction of an educator who would be given wide lattitude in developing heavy representation for the community. Under this plan, a Philadelphia university would join in operating these schools. The Board, in this program, adopted the following policy - "decentralization of responsibility and authority is proposed within the bound of legal limitations".

With the establishment of the model school district, the problem of its relationship to the Board of Education came to the forefront. The School Superintendent took a leading position in defining the issues. He viewed the whole question of urban education as an issue in the degree of responsibility which can be demanded of a bureaucracy. His concept of responsibility is one in which the school must be responsive to the needs of children, teachers, principals, and the community at large. The Superintendent emphasized the view of a need for greater teacher and principal involvement, plus that of the community, the students, and the need for building community participation into the entire system.

The guidelines developed for the model school district were that it emphasized community involvement, have its own administrative head, serve some part of North Philadelphia, and operate within the context of the Board's capital and operating budget. The program adopted for these schools involved the following specific proposals: the purpose of all programs were to be quality education; an emphasis on basic skills construction; tailoring to fit the individual; self-image and self-understanding to be stressed; experiences designed to show how to "exercise freedom"; I.Q. tests never used to determine potential; community resources used as part of school program; pupils and parents to find final counseling decisions; university resources to be used; and urban life to be stressed in curriculum and teachers.

In the choice of a Superintendent for the model school district, the following criteria were stressed: the high ability to handle human relations; an established and well-known educator; and an individual who was a Negro with a record as an innovator. In addition, the Youth Advisory Council, A Teachers Advisory Council and a Business Advisory Council were to be among the groups proposed for operation within the model school district.

These proposals were supported by the school Superintendent, but opposition to them became increasingly strong. Two especially difficult problems were the proposal to include Center City schools under the program. These proposals were unanimously rejected by all school-community groups in Center City. The grounds given were not racial, but clearly the factors at work were the feelings which developed about a possible threat of inundation within North Philadelphia schools. The Model School District plan also thwarted Center City efforts on behalf of smaller scale schools to service their own growing needs. In addition, many Center City groups raised such issues as that they were identified with other areas to the South; that there would be difficult transportation problems;

emphasized the problems of concurrent admission of large numbers of black pupils into Center City schools. They all raised the issue that they had not been involved in the planning efforts. Other arguments were raised by the North City Congress, that what was being talked about was evolutionary educational processes, but that the black community itself wanted revolutionary change and with change, control; that there was a need for the Superintendent to clarify his views on community participation and on the goals of the school district; that there was a need to define quality education and a need for detailed suggestions for change and improvement; and that there was a need for overall changes in school affairs and without system-wide changes local district changes would be difficult to achieve.

In addition to these local community arguments, the Board of Education itself came to the conclusion that it was unprepared to meet its proposals, and that the model school district report did not have top priority in the minds of the School Board members. The result of all this was that the school Superintendent recommended putting the report aside and developing a new approach to the model school district idea. With this, the Superintendent and his staff turned again to administrative efforts to bring about roughly similar goals.

School Advisory Committees

The Philadelphia School system has used the device of school advisory committees as its approach to community participation at the school level. It has become a popular device for extending committee participation opportunities in schools throughout the city. At present, it is estimated that some 39 such committees exist, many of them having been formed in the past several years. Now, every district has some schools with school advisory committees. The advisory committee includes parents (frequently home and school repeesentatives), and also business, professional, clerical and community organization representatives who have been interested in the local schools. The reason for their formation are varied, and no common model exists to explain their composition and powers.

Some have arisen in the wake of community confrontations, others have arisen in an effort to induce business interests in the local school and to provide job opportunities for their school children. At times, principals have taken the initiative in creating these groups for building constructive rather than hostile relationships in their communities. At other times, advisory committees have been self-appointed for the purpose of effecting program changes in the schools, or to challenge the principal or other personnel and effect their removal.

No formal guidelines exist to govern the makeup of the advisory committees or the methods they must use to assure their continuing representation. Each committee operates on a separately conceived and organized basis. As a matter of fact, the Board of Education has not taken any position or developed any administrative policy as to the legitimacy of these committees within the school system. The specific functions of these committees within the school have been left to whatever arrangements are worked out between the principal and the advisory committee. The use of the advisory committee on this decentralized basis has been spreading not only in Philadelphia, but in other cities as well.

## A Community Free School

As a result of the activities of a group of Negro parents in West Philadelphia, a movement began which, in essence, has resulted in the decentralization of a high school. The Negro parents were concerned with overcrowding in one of the West Philadelphia Senior High Schools and in the development of a more effective educational program. They brought their concerns to the Philadelphia Board of Education and the nearby University of Pennsylvania. Among their concerns was the low scores of their children in the acquisition of basic educational tools and knowledge, as well as their lack of interest in school. The parents expressed an interest in an educational program which would excite the children and motivate them in attaining college board scores which would admit them to a college education on an equivalent level with other students.

The approach to the problem of overcrowding in this high school has been made along the lines of emptying out of it perhaps half of its 5000 students. This is to be done by the school system acquiring a number of the residential houses in the immediate area of the school. Each house will contain no more than 200 students and each house will be a school in itself. The school system in acquiring these buildings will also maintain them, and the students will contribute by helping to paint the inside of the houses and naming each house according to their wishes. Each house will have a head teacher and six other teachers covering the basic subjects offered in the present high school.

The educational program will be ungraded and in this way, eliminate the grades traditionally known as 10, 11 and 12. This will provide a means for individualized instruction. The program itself will be divided into two parts: the first part will be the basic program studied in the "houses". This will be done in regular classes by the assigned teachers with the assistance of teacher aides and community aides. The second part of the program will be carriedon in the community and in the high school building for electives and enrichment. In the houses, the students will work on mastering basic tools, and studying the required subjects of literature, social studies, mathematics, and foreign languages. The student will also carry on his work outside the house in "natural laboratories" in the community provided by work assignments in banks, railroads, industries, and city institutions. For enrichment and elective studies, the program will use some of its existing school system projects which are utilizing community institutions such as universities and museums. Students will continue to use the auditorium, gymnasium, science laboratories and library of the present high school. The present high school will become both a resource center and also continue to be the classroom center for about half of the present school population. Shuttle busses will provide transportation for the students so they can move freely around the community. The program aims to have 50 per cent of the student's day spent away from the "house".

The concept of "house" organization involves the objectives of providing a relatively small number of pupils with a personal and intimate atmosphere and one of creating a sense of belonging to an entity which they come to conceive as their own. The ungraded program concept provides the pupils the chance to learn at their own rate and to receive extra help that they may need in areas where they have special problems. This program will be so organized so as to provide those pupils who are interested with a preparatory program for college entrance examinations.

The students for the "house" program will be selected by the principal and the advisory school committee. Selection of teachers will be decided by the advisory community committee, a member of the high school, and the director of the program. It is also visualized that the "houses" will have no particular routine set of hours as in traditional high schools. It is planned to keep the houses open at all times so that both pupils and teachers may feel free to come and go as they please. Teachers will be free to rearrange their classroom programs in terms of their personal interests, but at the same time, one of the criteria being used for their selection is their unconcern with traditional school teaching hours, but with a concern for a high commitment and devotion to teaching and to an unconcern with the number of hours a week they may end up working.

Another principle which it is hoped to introduce into the overall program is that through participation on the part of teachers and students in planning their school program and their out-of-"house" program, it will produce the excitement and motivation which now constitutes a barrier to many of these pupils for competent performance and for the continuation of their education.

The Saturday Review pointed out, "The provision of alternatives to large numbers of people opens the possibility of creative use of talent and the implementation of reforms presently inhibited by the organizational needs of schools as they are presently constituted." The Philadelphia Free Community School concept provides another alternative to the traditional approach to high school teaching and it is an approach which has the potential of increasing the competitive spirit for alternatives on the part of school systems.

The Pennsylvania University faculty was asked by its administration for voluntary participation in the development of supplementary elective, enrichment courses. Such courses could involve from one to ten students meeting one hour per week or several hours each week. The University was interested in a flexible approach to the program. Faculty members are being encouraged to develop their own curriculum in a format suiting their interests, either academic or personal, and time available.

The University registrar is arranging to schedule classroom space for individual faculty members at their request on an as-available basis for courses which they wish to teach. If laboratories, seminar rooms, libraries, or other special facilities under the jurisdiction of individual departments are needed, these are being made available subject to the approval of the departmental chairman. A special "catalogue" of course offerings will be prepared each year and the students in the Community Free School will be able to select from among those offered.

The Philadelphia school system, then, has approached the issues of participation and school decentralization from a number of vantage points. It is not engaged in developing one answer. In a sense, it is experimenting with a number of possible answers. All of these, it should be noted, are under varying degrees of administrative control of the central administration of the Philadelphia school system. They also involve varying degrees of parental participation. School decentralization in Philadelphia does not mean, as it now stands, an autonomous school district within a school district. As one example - the Community Free School concept in West Philadelphia - means to the community parents an idea which promises more effective teaching and learning. They are less concerned with autonomous school decentralization; they are much more concerned with moving their children onto a successful ladder in which they can compete with white children on college entrance examinations.

An experiment such as the West Philadelphia high school one, would be more meaningful, if at the same time, a highly competent evaluation research project had been established at its very beginning so that at the end of a three year period or so, the school system would have a much better idea as to what was happening to the experiment and what changes, if any, were needed for its improvement. Of course, there will be one basic measure of evaluation which the parents are especially interested in, and that is, how many of these children from the experiment enter college, and stay there.

## A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

### I. Racial Composition and Population Size[1]

Size of metropolitan area 4,342,897 (1960)

Size of the city of Philadelphia 2,002,512 (1960)

Percent Negro in Metropolitan area 15.46

Percent Negro in Philadelphia: 1950 18.15

1965 26.43 (1960)

1970 (est) 31.39 (7/1/67) Non-whites*

1980 (est) ______

Negro as Percent of Non-White 98.92 (1960)

### II. Racial Distribution[2]

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 95% Negro

1965 24.08% (1960)

1950 16.24%

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% Negro

1965 66.23% (1960)

1950 49.07%

Comments:

* Population estimates by race are not available. However, population estimates computed by the U.S. Bureau of Census gives White-Nonwhite composition.

### Eight Most Heavily Negro Social Planning Areas[3]

| District | Percent Negro | Density | Median Family Income | % Below Poverty Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Planning Analysis Subsections | | | | |
| 1. E3 | 91.34 | 201 per Acre | $3972. | |
| 2. D3 | 82.23 | 138 " " | $4083. | |
| 3. E1 | 67.86 | 163 " " | $2890. | |
| 4. D5 | 61.10 | 126 " " | $5450. | |
| 5. D2 | 57.23 | 112 " " | $5375. | |
| 6. B2 | 54.61 | 182 " " | $4525. | |
| 7. E2 | 46.33 | 180 " " | $4175. | |
| 8. F2 | 39.26 | 137 " " | $4920. | |

### Additional Facts concerning the High Negro Density Areas:[4]

Median Family Income in year $4557.

Size of area 4152.6 Residential Acres

Population 649,834

Number of elementary schools in area 76

Delinquency rate Not available

Population density 156 per residential acre

School Enrollment 135,700

Unemployment 9.5% (1960)

Public Welfare Not available

Income Level Not available

Out of School Youth Not available

III. Poverty Levels[5]

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard 27.0%

Percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3000 Not available

Unemployment rates in the City of Philadelphia:

| Date | Average | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968* | 3.9% | 6.1%<br>(Non-white) | 2.9% |
| 1960** | 6.5% | 10.7%<br>(Non-white) | 5.0% |

Comments:

* The information was gathered from a Press Release on March 6, 1969 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C., entitled "Unemployment Rate Declines in 20 Largest Urban Areas in the U.S. in 1968."

** Philadelphia City Planning Commission, December, 1966, Public Information Bulletin 11, Recent Historial Trends.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Racial Composition - Most of the population estimates by the U. S. Bureau of Census do not give details by race. However, the provisional estimate as on July 1, 1967 presents data by color. Hence the estimate of 7/1/67 is of nonwhite and white population and the figures shown are percent nonwhite in Philadelphia on 7/1/67.

2. Racial Distribution - Figures for 1965 are not available. Hence figures for 1960 are presented. They are based on the Census reports.

3. Eight Most Heavily Negro Social Planning Areas:

   The Philadelphia City Planning Commission has a social planning section and this section deals with the social data. The term used for an area is Planning Analysis Section rather than Social Planning Area. There are 12 Planning Analysis Sections in Philadelphia and these 12 sections are divided into 38 subsections. The details about these areas are available by color and not by race.

   The information about eight heavily Negro populated areas are collected as follows:

   (a) Eight planning Analysis Subsections (out of 38) which have the heaviest Negro concentration were selected. These subsections have certain number of census tracts and the population of Negro was collected from the Census reports of 1960, which present data by tracts.

   (b) Density: It is computed on the basis of Net Residential Area in the City, which means only land in residential use. It excludes streets, alleys and any other land use categories.

   (c) Median Family Income: Median family income of each Census Tract in the subsection was taken; these were weighted by the population of the tract; and the median for the subsection was computed.

   (d) % below poverty level : not available.

4. Additional Facts: These pertain to the above eight areas (subsections).

   Information on Delinquency rate, public welfare, income level, and out of school youth, was not available.

5. Poverty Level:

   Percentage of substandard housing: The information pertains to the above eight areas. There is no definition of 'substandard housing'. However, the City Planning Commission provides information about "total housing units" and "sound conditions with all facilities". Thus the figure shown is the percent of housing units which are not in "sound condition with all facilities".

## A PROFILE OF THE PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL SYSTEM

### I. Size of the System

Total number of schools 279 date September, 1968

No. of elementary schools 221 date September, 1968

No. of Junior schools 36 date September, 1968

No. of Senior High Schools 22 date September, 1968

### II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff and Students[1]

A. Staff

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Negro | 5,675 | 33 |
| Negroes in white schools | 407 | 12.8 |
| Negroes in Negro schools | 3,429 | 48.8 |
| In elementary schools | 3,228 | 40 |
| In Senior High Schools | 690 | 18 |
| Certified personnel | | |
| Classroom teachers | 3,517 | 31 |

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.) 46:1 (negro-negro) 77:1 (Total-Negro)
26:1 (tot-tot)
(sec.) 66:1 (Negro-Negro) 127:1 (Total-Negro)
20:1 (Tot-tot)

Mean years experience (teachers) not available

% first year teachers not available

% non-degree not available

% B.A. See footnote

% M.A. See footnote

Salary - minimum (Bach) $7,300. September, 1969

maximum (Bach) $12,000. September, 1969

B. Students[2]

Negro enrollment in elementary schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| September, 1968 | 102,413 | 60 |

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools:*

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| September, 1968 | 66,356 | 65 ** |
| | | 39 *** |

Comments:

* Per cent of Negro enrollment in elementary school.

** Per cent of total enrollment in elementary school.

*** 95% or more Negro students.

Student Performance[3]

| Test Score (date: ) (Standardized | Schools 95-100% Negro | White |
|---|---|---|
| Grade 2 | | |
| Grade 4 | | |
| Grade 6 | Not available - See Footnote | |
| Grade 8 | | |
| Stanford Reading Achievement | | |
| End of 3rd Year | | |
| End of 6th Year | | |

## C. School Board

Method of selection: The nine-member Board of Education is appointed by the Mayor. In case of any vacancy, it is filled by an appointee, selected from a list of three to six persons submitted to the Mayor by a 13-member Educational Nominating Committee. Full term is six years and membership is limited to two full terms.

Number of Negroes on School Board: Two

Members of the Philadelphia Board of Education

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Richardson Dilworth | President |
| Rev. Henry H. Nichols | Vice-President |
| Mr. Gerald A. Gleeson, Jr. | Member |
| Mr. George Hutt | " |
| Mr. William Ross | " |
| Mrs. Albert M. Greenfield | " |
| Mr. Jonathan E. Rhoads | " |
| Mr. Robert M. Sebastian | " |
| Mrs. Ruth V. Bennett | " |

## FOOTNOTES

1. Racial Composition

A. Staff

Negro: means total number of Negro staff members of all categories.

Negroes in white schools: means total number of Negro staff members in schools with 80 per cent or more pupils white.

Negroes in Negro schools: means total number of Negro staff members in schools with 80 per cent or more pupils Negro.

The figures for elementary and senior high schools are given, the corresponding figures for junior high schools are 1128 and 35 per cent.

Certified personnel: not clear.

Ratio pupils/teachers:

| | Negro Pupil: Negro Teacher | All pupil: Negro teachers | All pupil: All teachers |
|---|---|---|---|
| Elementary Schools | 46:1<br>(102,413:2219) | 77:1<br>(169,862:2219) | 26:1<br>(169,862:6082) |
| Jr. High Schools | 40:1<br>(33,493:838) | 65:1<br>(54696:838) | 23:1<br>(54,696:2445) |
| Sr. High Schools | 66:1<br>(30,536:460) | 127:1<br>(58418:460) | 20:1<br>(58,418:2874) |

Mean years experience (teachers)
% first year teachers ---------- The Board of Education
% non-degree does not have this information.

% B.A. This is not available by race. However, of all the
% M.A. teachers in the school system 63% have B.A. degrees and 31% M.A. degrees. The rest have other qualifications.

2. Students - No. of Negroes in segregated elementary schools: A segregated elementary school means a school with 95% or more pupil Negroes.

3. Student Performance - Information in the specific form desired is not available.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PHILADELPHIA

U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960 - Census Tracts, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania-NJ, SMSA

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Population Estimates, Series P-25, No. 411, of December 5, 1968, "Provisional Estimates of the Population of 100 large Metropolitan Areas: July 1, 1967."

Philadelphia City Planning Commission, December, 1966. Public Information Bulletin No. 11, Recent Historical Trends.

Philadelphia City Planning Commission, December, 1967, Public Information Bulletin No. 12, Land Use and Residential Density, Philadelphia, 1960.

Board of Education, the School District of Philadelphia, Facts and Figures 1968-69.

Office of Research and Evaluation, Summary of Personnel in the Philadelphia Public Schools, Board of Education, January, 1969.

Office of Research and Evaluation, 1959-1968 Negro Enrollment in the Philadelphia Public Schools, Board of Education, April, 1969.

Office of Research and Evaluation, The Philadelphia City Wide Testing Program: Report of the Spring 1968 Achievement Test Results, Board of Education December, 1968.

Office of Research and Evaluation, Enrollment: Negro and Spanish Speaking in the Philadelphia Public Schools- 1968-1969, Board of Education, 1969.

# CHAPTER 4

# THE ADAMS-MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROJECT: WASHINGTON,D.C.

## Introduction

Over the past fifteen years Washington, D.C. has been in the process of becoming a Negro city of impoverished black settlers. As of 1970, the estimated Negro population is 75% of the total city population of 848,500. In the high density Negro areas, the per cent of residents falling below poverty level is from 16% to 41%. The median family income for all high density Negro areas is $4743.00. A White House Hunger Conference concluded that "close to one-third of Washington's population" is subsisting on poverty level incomes. The Negro unemployment rate in 1968 was 5.5 while the white unemployment rate was 2.4.

The city's school system reflects the characteristics described above. The per cent Negro pupils in elementary school population of 88,069 in 1969 was 94.4. Negroes on the staff constitute about 77%. The majority of the Negro staff are in the elementary school system. In the senior high schools, Negroes constitute about 17% of the personnel. The STEP mathematics and reading scores reported in median percentile bands at the sixth grade level indicate a range of 22 - 36 for schools with 95-100% Negroes, and 76 - 86 for schools with more than 50% white. Eight of the eleven school Board members are Negroes.

## The Concept of a Community School

As far back as 1954 the principals of the two elementary schools, Adams and Morgan, decided on the need for community improvement of conditions in their neighborhood. The Adams-Morgan neighborhood includes 24,000 people in a Northwest section of Washington close to its downtown area. There are families on welfare payments and other on $25,000 a year. However, the families whose children attend these two schools are preponderantly black and poor.

The deterioration of housing in the area since World War II led to attempts in 1954 and 1958 to organize a halt to the spreading blight. In 1959, the Adams-Morgan Community Council was formed to deal with the physical and social problems of the neighborhood. One of the programs that emerged was the idea of a community-run school.

The definition of a community school as it emerged was as follows:

(1) The school must be governed by a representatively elected Board of local community people with broad powers. The Board must have maximum control of staffing, curriculum, financing, outside resources, and use of the physical plant.

(2) The school must reflect the needs and desires of the community in its educational program, and in the other services and facilities it offers.

(3) The school building should serve as a community center providing educational, remedial, recreational, and enrichment programs for everyone in the community.

What are the educational objectives of the community school? The Adams-Morgan School Council expressed itself as follows:

(1) A school whose children will learn those things they need to know to survive in this society.

(2) A school where they and their children are treated with respect and allowed to carry themselves with dignity.

(3) A school where they and their children are welcomed, and does not insult them by indicating that something is wrong with the way they look, speak, or dress.

(4) A school where the staff and Board are responsible to them and their needs, and should not dictate to them what someone else has decided is "good for them".

(5) A school where the program should be fashioned from "the nature of the people living in the community, and from the children utilizing the school rather than rigidly defining itself as an institution accepting only those people who already fit into a set definition."

(6) A school with a minimum of social problems because what is socially acceptable in a community should be worked with and tolerated within the school setting.

(7) A school where children are not abused, either physically or emotionally.

(8) A school where children are not made to feel embarassed or inadequate, and where they feel that everyone in the school is working for them and not against them.

(9) A school where everyone is encouraged to remain continually involved in learning, and to work continually to improve his life and the life of the community.

(10) A school where competition has no place, and where all should be willing to help one another whenever help is needed.

### School-Community Relations

In an article in the Harvard Educational Review of Spring, 1968, Paul Lauter, who as a member of the Antioch-Putney Graduate School of Education, and the first Director of the Adams-Morgan Project wrote: "It is a measure of the desperation of the urban school crisis that a project so new, so untried, and - as yet - so devoid of significant results has attracted so much attention." In the eyes of all concerned, the Adams-Morgan project became one of the major testing grounds for the "community school" approach.

Effective control of the Morgan elementary school was turned over to Antioch College for a five year period beginning in 1967. Antioch, with the advice of a "Parents Advisory Board" would select staff, determine curriculum, and allocate resources within normal budget allotments. Actually, what emerged was a threefold partnership in decision-making; Antioch College, the "Advisory Board", and the Board of Education - a partnership in collaborative administration which did not work. The "maximum autonomy" given to Antioch did not define what powers the Board of Education retained or the community was given. The Board of Education from the inception of the project has maintained that it could not give up its legal powers and responsibilities, and that it was simply delegating some of its powers. The "Advisory Board" objects to even the assertion on the part of the Board of Education of its theoretical powers. The Adams-Morgan Community Council has a wide-ranging cause with its core being the neighborhood school and its community residents.

Lauter, in his Harvard Educational Review article, describes the Council as follows: "The Council was and is, dominated largely by white and middle-class people living west of 18th Street; it has a strong contingent of young professionals, liberal and wishing to be politically active. Many of them had moved into the neighborhood, bought houses, and wanted to find some means to make an 'integrated community' a reality, though their school-age children up to that time attended Adams (mostly Negro, but middle-class) or, more likely, Oyster (across Rock Creek Park and predominantly white). Many of the people who participate in the Council have an interest in the arts, and the summer programs it has run mainly forthe poor and black children in the neighborhood have strongly emphasized the arts." These members, in a sense "outsiders", who had adopted the poor Negro residents and their children, developed the idea of working for "true quality education". The objective of quality education, the Council members reasoned, could best be achieved by having the neighborhood run its own schools. From the first, the impetus for "community control" came from the white members, and the planning hardly involved the population "served" by the Morgan school project. However, in the course of the past three years some local Negro leadership has emerged devoted to the concept of "running their own school". The city's Board of Education which has a majority of Negroes is regarded as part of a distant bureaucracy, and not fitting their conception of "their people" running their own schools.

The significant factor in the development of the Morgan School was the fact that the original planning was done without the Morgan School parents and the school administration. The parents of most of the Morgan children were excluded from the development of the program, as well as most of the school administration. The School Superintendent and one or two Board members were involved in the early negotiations. However, claims were made about the anger of the community at the schools. The result was a good deal of resentment and non-involvement in the Project on the part of school officials.

Antioch's involvement was in recruiting a teaching staff, many of them still in use. The Morgan School had experienced nearly a complete turnover with the inception of the Project. The staffing of the school was reorganized from an allocation of 27 teachers and 3 specialists to 17 certified teachers, 14 non-professional community interns, and 11 Antioch interns. Classes were organized into ungraded teams. The issue of black vs. white staff never occurred at Morgan, since the staff had been all black before it became a community school. The changes brought in six white staff members. The first few months of the new school under Antioch administration was characterized by chaos and dissention. In addition to operating and ataffing the school, Antioch was to lobby for additional funds and improvements. These problems plus the overwhelming ones of staff changes within a limited budget pushed the contractual relationships between Morgan and Antioch to an abrupt end at the end of one year.

The new Negro teachers and interns were upsetting to not only some of the older teachers, but to many members of the Negro community. Talk about black power and the very term "black" came at first, as a shock. Others in the Negro community saw the school's new staff as a threat to their relationships with the local white power structure. The concept of black power was also a threat to some members of the white community and their views of building an integrated community. The new curriculum that the Morgan school was introducing came to be defined as a race pride curriculum. The basic divergencies of white and black prents began to emerge. White parents and some middle-class Negroes wanted French in the curriculum; black parents contemptuously dismissed French as a frill. Disputes arose as to whether only black teachers could be effective teachers in ghetto schools, and as to whether there was a need to use the school to build a meaningful black culture for Negroes. The extent of local Negro participation was evidenced by the fact that 3 per cent of the white school population was able to elect five out of a total local board of ten.

The chaos in the school in its first year was reacted to more strongly by Negro parents. They preferred order and obedience among the children to experimentation. Their own attitudes reflected the rather authoritarian perspective of the community. To them, the chief purpose of the School was to bring about the obedience and discipline they had failed to impart, so that their children could parallel the achievements of white children. But how could this be done with interns from the community whom they knew to have little, if any, training. The new program came tc be defined as one which was imposing untrained staff members to teach their children. "Control" of child behavior to the local Negro community person meant physical discipline, and this was not taking place. Middle-class professionals were undisturbed by this, and proceeded with patience to build a school atmosphere that was not authoritarian, but at the same time, had "built-in controls".

The changes in the school and the staff have had some positive impact. The schools pupils have settled down to classroom work with teachers and interns and learned to function within the new related permissive atmosphere. The newer teachers have brought new excitement to teaching and learned something about the need for organization and structure while introducing experimentation. At the same time, the experiments have not changed in any significant manner, the work of the experienced teacher.

Strained relations remain between the Adams-Morgan Project and the School Board. The most militant position of the Project is that of obtaining complete autonomy. This, the school Board cannot legally and will not, administratively, assent to. The failures of the Project will, therefore, continue to be blamed on the School Board. At the same time, the Project has developed a core of committed and hard working black parents, and some impact on Project pupils is being made. They have given expression to a new atmosphere of friendliness, protectiveness of the school, accomplishment pride, and race consciousness. Decentralization and community participation, in this sense, has made positive contributions. But the Project is an elementary education complex. What happens to these children in the schools they move onto in Washington? What is their drop-out rate in high school compared to others? No one knows, and until questions of this type are answered, the judgements about the Adams-Morgan School Project will continue to be surrounded by partisan arguments and emotional claims.

Lauter, in his Harvard Educational Review article expresses his judgements as follows: " I do not wish to end on a note of pessimism, but it is hard to avoid it. There are endless years of social frustration and anger now being played out in the educational arena. It is hard to see how the fundamental issues of racisim and exploitation in this country can be resolved in schools -- especially when they have not been resolved in Congress or the courts. Neither can the educational issue -- of curriculum, or "discipline', for example -- be resolved simply by political decisions about who controls, or seem to control, the schools. In saying that Adams-Morgan was both more and less than a community school, I was hinting at the root of the difficult lesson I draw from our experience: the issues of community participation, teachers' attitudes and preparation, classroom organization and curriculum, and the roles of outside agencies all must be worked out together or the educational fabric will unravel almost as quickly as it is stitched."

# A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

## I. Racial Composition and Population Size

Size of metropolitan area[1] 2,717,818

Size of the city of Washington[2] 848,500

Percent Negro in Metropolitan area[3] 22.0

Percent Negro in Washington[4] 1950 35.0

1965 60.2

1970 (est) 75.0

1980 (est) 80.0

Negro as Percent of Non-white[5] 98.0

## II. Racial Distribution

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 95% Negro[6]

1965 51.9%

1950 13.1%

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% Negro [7]

1965 80.4%

1950 47.5%

Comments:

Figures in both sections immediately above are for proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% or more Negro population and 95% or more Negro population. Data for both years probably understate the degree of Negro concentration due to undercounting of the Negro population, especially in heavily Negro census tracts.

Most Heavily Negro Social Planning Areas [8]

| District[9] | Percent Negro | Density[10] | Median Family Income | % Below Poverty Level ($3,000/yr) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Statistical Area 5 | 83.5 | 3.43 | $5,283 | 21.0 |
| Statistical Area 7 | 91.8 | 3.26 | $3,494 | 41.0 |
| Statistical Area 14 | 98.7 | 3.96 | $4,922 | 21.5 |
| Statistical Area 15 | 89.1 | 3.81 | $4,740 | 23.0 |
| Statistical Area 16 | 81.5 | 3.29 | $5,363 | 15.8 |

Additional Facts Concerning the High Negro Density Areas:[11]

Median Family Income in year $4,743

Size of area approximately 6.3 square miles

Population 207,993

Number of elementary schools in area 55

Delinquency rate Not available for comparable areas

Population Density 3.57

School Enrollment 57,212 (includes 34,138 in 55 elementary schools, 14,409 in 13 junior high schools, and 8,665 in six high schools in the area.

Unemployment 6.2

Public Welfare 35,826

Income Level 24.5% below $3,000 annual income (families)

Out of School Youth* High school dropout rates are now estimated at approximately 50 per cent by Mr. William H. Simons, President, Washington, D.C. Teachers Union; the Board of Education cites a 40 per cent figure.

* In this context, dropout rate refers to the percentage of students entering high school who fail to graduate. The Board of Education figure is taken from a news story in the December 29, 1969 Washington Post. The figure given by Mr. Simons was obtained from personal converaation during a guest lecture to an Urban Sociology class at Howard University on December 11, 1969.

## III. Poverty Levels

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard :[12] 18.9

Percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3,000[13] 24.5

Unemployment rates in the City of Washington, D.C.[14]

| Date | Average | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1960 | 4.4 | 5.6 | 3.1 |
| 1968 | 4.5 | 5.5 | 2.4 |
| | 23.1 | 26.3 | 15.9 |

Comments:

As indicated in several places elsewhere, the above figures are generally based on 1960 census data. On January 1, 1970 the Washington Post carried a news story reporting the findings of a conference panel of nutrition problems in the District of Columbia. The panel concluded that "close to one-third of Washington's population" is subsisting on poverty level incomes.

## Footnotes

1. Figure cited is drawn from study of Washington, D.C. and its metropolitan area by Hammer, Greene, and Siler Associates (private research group) for 1967.

2. Figure cited is for 1967 and was provided by the Statistical Information Systems Group, District of Columbia Management Office, Demographic Unit.

3. Figure cited is based on data drawn from study of Washington, D.C. and its metropolitan area by Hammer, Greene and Siler Associates (private research group) for 1967.

4. Figure cited for 1950 is based on U.S. Bureau of the Census data. Figure for 1965 is based on data provided by the Statistical Information Systems Group, District of Columbia Management Office, Demographic Unit in 1968 publication, Population of Census Tracts in the District of Columbia by Age and Race: April 1, 1960 and July 1, 1965. Estimates for 1970 and 1980 are based on data provided by the Statistical Office, National Capital Planning Commission, which stresses the extreme caution to be exercised when dealing with population projections of this nature.

5. Figure cited is based on 1960 U.S. Bureau of the Census data and estimate provided by Statistical Information Systems Group, District of Columbia Management Office, Demographic Unit.

6. Figure cited for 1950 is based on U.S. Bureau of the Census data. Figure cited for 1965 is based on data provided by the Statistical Information Systems Group, District of Columbia Management Office, Demographic Unit in 1968 publication, Population of Census Tracts in the District of Columbia by Age and Race: April 1, 1960 and July 1, 1965.

7. Ibid.

8. The areas for which data are reported contained more than 90% non-white populations in 1967. All figures cited in this section are from 1960 U.S. Bureau of the Census data. Comparable data for 1969 would probably reveal a higher percentage of Negro families in most of the statistical areas as well as little, if any, improvement in median family income and percent below poverty level indices.

9. District of Columbia census tracts are divided by many city agencies into statistical areas. Statistical Area 5 contains tracts 33,34,87, and 92. Statistical Area 7 contains tracts 46, 47,48,49,50, and 86. Statistical Area 14 contains tracts 78.1, 78.2, 78.3, 78.4, 78.5, and 78.6. Statistical Area 15 contains tracts 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, and 85. Statistical Area 16 contains tracts 88.1, 88.2, 89, 90, and 91.

10. The density figures cited refer to populations per household.

11. The figures immediately following combine data for the five statistical areas cited above and are generally based on 1960 U.S. Bureau of the Census data. The population density figure is for population per household in the area. The unemployment figure is an average (arithmetic mean) of the unemployment rates for the 27 census tracts contained in the five statistical

areas. This figure does not include those individuals not in the labor force at the time data were collected and is, therefore, an under-representation of the area's employment difficulties. The data on the numberof elementary schools in the area and school enrollment are for 1969 and are based on material provided by the Department of Automated Information Services Statistical Office for the Public Schools of the District of Columbia including their November 18, 1969 report, Pupil Membership in Regular Day Schools On October 16, 1969 compared with October 17, 1968 by Schools, by Grades and by Race. The public welfare figure is the only figure in this section referring to the entire District of Columbia. The figure, supplied by the D.C. Department of Welfare, is for January 1, 1969. Then, approximately six per cent of all black residents of the District of Columbia were receiving public assistance.

12. The percentage of "substandard" housing refers to those housing units in the area classified either as "dilapidated" or "deteriorating" in the 1960 U.S. Bureau of the Census. These may be regarded by some as underestimatin g the degree of substandard housing actually existing.

13. Negro areas examined are the five statistical areas cited above. Data examined again refer to 1960 figures.

14. The figures cited for 1960 are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census data. The figures cited for 1968 are from U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Washington, D.C., Summary District of Columbia Sub-Employment Index, 1968. The first set of 1968 figures gives the total district, Negro, and white unemployment rates. The second set of figures gives the sub-employment rates which yield a more complete picture of an area or group's economic plight. Unemployment is defined as "those persons actively looking for work and unable to find it." The unemployment rate "represents the number unemployed as a percent of the civilian labor force." The sub-employment rate not only takes account of those who are unemployed but also those who are working part-time "because full-time work is not available", those who are "not working and not looking for work but who would probably enter the labor force if they were provided the proper assistance," and those who are "subsisting on an annual income at or below the poverty level." The 1960 and 1968 figures for Negroes were actually reported in both the 1960 U.S. Bureau of the Census report and the U.S. Department of Labor Manpower Administration report for non-whites. The differences between these figures and those here reportted for Negroes are assumed to have been minimal.

# A PROFILE OF THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL SYSTEM

## I. Size of the System[1]

Total number of schools 186 date 10/69

No. of elementary schools 140 date 10/69

No. of Junior High Schools 30 date 10/69

No. of Senior High Schools[2] 16 date 10/69

## II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff and Students[3]

### A. Staff

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Negro | 6,421 | 76.6 |
| Negroes in white schools | 171 | 3.0 |
| Negroes in Negro Schools | 5,574 | 97.0 |
| In elementary schools | 4,133 | 53.3 |
| In Senior High schools[4] | 1,303 | 16.8 |
| Certified personnel[5] | 5,279 | 73.5 |
| Classroom teachers[6] | 7,182 | 85.7 |

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.) 22.8:1

(sec.)[7] 16.3:1

Mean years experience (teachers) 9.4

% first year teachers 5.4

% non-degree 2.6

% B.A. 72.1

[8]

% M.A. 25.3

Salary - minimum (Bach) $7,000

maximum (Bach)[9] $10,850 or $12,040

B. Students

Negro enrollment in elementary schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1968 | 88,666 | 93.9 |
| 1969 | 88,069 | 94.4 |

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools:

| Year | No. | % | Definition of Segregated |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1969 | 85,573 | 97.2 | 80% or more Negro |
| | 83,132 | 94.4 | 90% or more Negro |
| | 60,554 | 68.8 | 99% or more Negro |

Comments:

See table immediately above for possible operational definitions of "segregated elementary school."

Sequential Tests of
Educational Progress (STEP)
Mathematics

| Student Performance<br>Test Score (date: 10/69)<br>(Standardized | Median Percentile Bands*<br>Schools 95-100% Negro | <br>White (More than 50% white) |
|---|---|---|
| Grade 2 | Data not available | |
| Grade 4 | 0 - 51 (82) | 72 - 89 (9) |
| Grade 6 | 22 - 36 (82) | 76 - 86 (9) |
| Grade 8 | Data not available | |
| Grade 9 | 15 - 40 (24) | Of no meaning |

| Students' Reading Achievement Sequential Tests of Educational Progress (STEP) - Reading (date: 10/69) | | |
|---|---|---|
| End of 3rd Year | Data not available | |
| End of 4th Year | 25 - 46 (97) | 71 - 80 (9) |
| End of 6th Year | 27 - 42 (97) | 74 - 88 (9) |

---

* The STEP Mathematics and Reading scores for each District of Columbia Public School are reported as median percentile bands. A percentile band guards against too rigid an interpretation of a particular score. The data reported here are, therefore, medians of all the medians given for the types of schools in question. The number of schools of each type (e.g., 95-100% Negro or White) are given in parenthesis in the above tables. They do not represent the total number of 95-100% Negro or White schools, but they do represent all the schools of these types for which data were available. No Mathematics Grade 9 Percentile Band is provided for White Schools, as only two fell into this category. Their median percentile bands were 47 - 70 and 71 - 88.

C. School Board

Method of Selection: Members are elected by those voting among eligible District of Columbia residents. Eight school board members represent specific city wards while three represent the total city on an at-large basis. The Board of Education appoints the Superintendent of Schools for a three year term.

Number of Negroes on School Board:[10] 8

Members of the Washington Board of Education[11]

Mrs. Anita Ford Allen
Mr. Charles Cassell
Mr. Bardyl Tirana
Mrs. Muriel Alexander
Rev. James E. Coates
Mr. Edward L. Hancock
Mr. Nelson C. Roots
Mr. Albert A. Rosenfield
Mrs. Martha Swaim
Mrs. Mattie G. Taylor
Mrs. Evie Washington

Acting Superintendent of Schools - Dr. Benjamin J. Henley

## Footnotes

1. Data in this section were obtained from Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Pupil Membership in Regular Day Schools on October 16, 1969 Compared with October 17, 1968, by Schools, by Grades and by Race, prepared by Department of Automated Information Systems Statistical Office, November 18, 1969, HEW 5140 series.

2. The total number of 16 includes 11 senior high schools and five vocational high schools.

3. Data in this section were obtained from the following sources: Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Number of Regular Full-Time Educational Employees On October 17, 1968 by Type of Position, School Level, Race, and Sex, prepared by Department of Automated Information Systems Statistical Office, February 10, 1969; Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Numbers of Teacher Positions, Pupil Membership, and Pupil-Teacher Ratios for All Schools Levels on October 17, 1968, prepared by Department of Automated Information Systems Statistical Office, March 3, 1969; Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Degrees Held by Teachers on October 17, 1968, prepared by Department of Automated Information Systems Statistical Office, July 8, 1969; Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Pupil Membership in Regular Day Schools on October 16, 1969 Compared with October 17, 1968, by Schools, by Grades and by Race, prepared by Department of Automated Information Systems Statistical Office, November 18, 1969; Facts and Figures 1968-1969, Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.; Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Years of Teaching Experience - D.C. Public School Teachers, prepared by Department of Automated Information Systems Statistical Office, July 30, 1969; and Test Results - Grades 4,6,9, and 11 - Reading and Mathematics, Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Department of of Pupil Personnel Services, Pupil Appraisal Division, July 1969. Stanford Achievement data were not available. Although all the STEP data were gathered in March 1969, they are to be interpreted as October 1968 estimates. All data pertaining to staff as well as teacher/pupil ratios are based on 1968 figures. Salary figures only refer to the 1969 schedules.

4. The number and percentage of staff in senior high schools includes the personnel in vocational high schools.

5. The Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Board of Examiners, reports that all personnel are certified in a technical sense. However, a distinction is drawn among permanent, probationary, and temporary teachers. Temporary teachers are regarded as non-certified in the reported data.

6. The percentage reported for classroom teachers refers to the percentage of the entire educational ataff (i.e. all educational employees) employed as classroom teachers.

7. The pupils/teachers ratio for secondary schools includes the vocational high schools' students and teachers.

8. The percentage includes teachers possessing either a Doctor's Degree or additional credits beyond the Masters Degree.

9. The maximum salary with a B.A. is $10,850 after 13 years of service and $12,040 after 18 years of service.

10. As of January, 1970.

11. As of January, 1970.

*************

## BIBLIOGRAPHY ON WASHINGTON, D.C.

District of Columbia Laws and Statutes, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967.

The Nation's Capital, U.S. National Capital Planning Commission, Washington, D.C. 1961.

Washington, Potomac Books, 1966.

Note: Beyond those sources cited in the footnotes to the two preceding sections, there exists a wide selection of U.S. Census Bureau reports on various vital statistics for the District of Columbia. There are also numerous surveys on the District of Columbia which have been conducted by the U.S. Labor Department, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the various Washington, D.C. social science research organizations (e.g. Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, etc.). These reports are available on request from the relevant agencies.

# CHAPTER 5

# LOS ANGELES: GUIDED PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

## Introduction

While Los Angeles has a relatively low proportion of Negroes (21.5%) as over against other urban areas, it does have a high propotion of recent ethnic migrants (Mexican, 20% and Asiatic, 5%). The result of these demographic characteristics is a large population of school children with special school problems, and a large parental population who, in the past, were outside the school system and today have become interested in it. In general, it is a population which is also on poverty levels of income (25% below $3500 in high density Negro areas in 1969) and with high unemployment rates (Central City, 1968 non-white, 8.6%; white 4.6%). These population groups reside for the most part in large homogeneous highly dense areas of the city, and their children attend schools located in the same areas. In 1969 about 25% of the pupils in attendance at the city's elementary schools were Negro. At the same time, about 15% of the staff employed by the school system in 1968 were Negro.

The problem of Los Angeles is further aggravated by community unrest, that leads to deliberate interference with the educational process. The population mobility which is reflected in the movement from the rural to the urban area by the minority and low-income groups and their children reflects itself in inferior education in urban areas for these children. Now, to further compound the problem, the urban crisis is located in most parts of the city where the incidence of infant mortality is the highest, the incidence of neurological damage from malnutrition and other factors contributing to the failure to learn is the highest, the incidence of tuberculosis is the greatest, crime and deaths by violence is the greatest, reading scores are lowest, transiency is highest, measured I.Q. scores are the lowest, the number of school age children with police records is the highest, the income levels are the lowest, the number of people receiving aid or on welfare or receiving aid for families with dependent children is the highest, the educational level is the lowest, the unemployment is the highest -- all of these factors are characteristics of these parts of the city. These problems are so frustrating and seemingly endless that the tendency is for some to seek out simple solutions, particularly legislative simple solutions. Most of the city's group, regardless of their vested interests and regardless of their point of view recognize the need for improving the educational product, in their view. Improving the educational product means a youngster who reads better, writes better, comminicates better, adds better, subtracts better, and whose values are improved and attitudes improved. This is the kind of project all really agree upon.

## School Problems

The public schools in Los Angeles, the critics state, have not been able to teach black youngsters and brown youngsters to read, write, add and subtract competently. They state that it's not the fault of the children, it's not the fault of the schools, however, they point out and state that the schools have the children for 1/6 of their waking hours. The problem is that the schools bring little influence to bear in the five or six hours a day that they have the youngsters independent of their family background and economic status. In other words, the schools as they are now organized cannot possibly offset the effects of living in the ghettos and all the social problems that go along with it. This does not relieve the public schools of the meaning for value reform in order to be more effective in what they do and in order to produce a product of excellence. Disenchantment, then, on the part of the minority groups developed in Los Angeles and the feeling that "Whitey is never going to give it to us". The view has emerged among some that the only way they are going to succeed was to do it themselves. These groups wish to have complete control of the school program.

"The process is called decentralization sometimes", a school official pointed out, "but really what it means is local control. And then you look at where we are going - as you look at the pressures and the things in our own society and our own campuses, pressures for separate black dorms, separate black studies and no one, except black students, for example, in the black studies programs. The teachings on the part of some of the black organizations for self-recognition and separateness - it makes you wonder, are we headed down the road now to a separate but legal system? It's important then, that we look at the term 'decentralization' and see what it really means and what people are really talking about. If we accept the fact that the ultimate objective of education is the highest quality product possible, then decentralization or local control becomes a means to an end, and must be clearly considered a means to an end, rather than an end in itself."

The need, then, is to ask of decentralization -- decentralization of what. Services, control, or participation in decision-making? We need to examine, too, the question of the size of the public school system. Is size or bigness the real issue? Are there built-in aspects of a district the size of New York or the size of Los Angeles? Are they automatically prevented from being able to offer as effective a program of education than a smaller district, for example? Is a large district incapable of being responsive to the changing needs of a community as these needs are perceived and often perceived differently? The feeling in Los Angeles is that size in itself need not be a disadvantage. Historically, it's been a considerable advantage - the advantages in terms of the depth and breadth of services provided, the economic base and the economy of operation. In fact, two or three years ago, the Legislature in the state demanded the unification of small districts in order to form larger districts that provided a sounder economic base. So the question is and the critical issue is, how can the advantage of size and bigness be utilized without losing the sensitivity and responsiveness to the needs of the people being served?

The Los Angeles School District

Los Angeles has grown from a 28 square mile district to today's 711 square miles. Secondly, the mobility of the minority population within the boundaries of the school district itself needs to be examined. It should be pointed out that the Los Angeles Unified School District is larger than the city of Los Angeles and there is no administrative or political relationship to the Mayor. It is an independent district. Actually, there are a large number of cities and communities within the District. The City of Los Angeles, for example, is 450 square miles; the District is 711 square miles. The source of nourishment for this growth has been the movement of population. Originally the District was centered around the Plaza area of Los Angeles. By the turn of the century, annexations into the District brought the service to 46 square miles. Six years later, further annexations were made. By 1909 it had grown to 90 square miles. During the next year, other areas voted on annexation and the District grew to 229 square miles. The following year, six more annexations brought the service area to 295 square miles. During the next three years, four areas were annexed intothe District and Beverly Hills became the first area to withdraw and form its own school district, but the District then served an area of 289 square miles. In May, 1915 the largest single annexation took place with 170 square miles of the San Fernando Valley electing to join the District. Nine additional annexations brought the service area to 507 square miles. During the next five years, the people of 25 other areas voted to join the district. At the beginning of the "Twenties", the District was serving an area of 619 square miles. The growth continued into the mid-twenties and the Palm Springs area became the second to withdraw and form its own school district. Even with this 24 square mile area leaving, it still served an area of 620 square miles. Fifty-one annexations took place during the following six years, with nine community areas electing to join the District.

In the second year of the Depression, the District served an area of 688 square miles. In the next two years, the area now known as Southgate and Huntington Park City joined the District and after that, annexations were very few. By 1942, it served an area of 724 square miles. The Fighting Forties was an era of realignment, and in 1947 Florence withdrew to form its own school district, and by 1952 it served an area of 701 square miles. Then came forty-seven annexations which were little more than minor boundary relocations and the decade was highlighted by the fact that on July 5, 1960, the District officially became known as the Los Angeles Unified School District. By 1961, it served an area of 696 square miles. The following year the Topanga School District electorate voted to join the District. With only minor annexations since then, it now serves an area of 711 square miles.

Los Angeles County consists of 38 unified school districts. In addition, there are 28 elementary districts within 9 union high school districts. The County district covers over 4,000 square miles with a student population in excess of 1½ million pupils. It is significant to note that while serving only 17% of the County area, it provides an education for almost 42% of all the students in grades K through 12.

While this history of growth and development of the Los Angeles Unified School District is informative, knowledge of the District would be incomplete without a look at the present and past ethnic composition of the District. The primary concentration of the Negro population is in the vicinity of Santa Barbara and Central Avenues. A small concentration in what is now known as Watts developed by 1940. During the next 10 years, the concentration became more intense in this Central Avenue area and there has been a westerly migration in the vicinity of Adams Boulevard and Western Avenue. The density continued to increase in the Watts area. A small percentage is now present in the area of the San Fernando Valley. By 1960, the Negro distribution extended from the south of Watts northerly to the central portion of Los Angeles in the vicinity of Washington Boulevard and westerly to LaCienega Boulevard, and there is a continuing increase in this area. Today the Negro student population is concentrated in the central metropolitan area of Los Angeles which extends from Rosecranz Boulevard on the south to the vicinity of Wilshire Boulevard on the north.

In 1950 and 1960 California was one of five states that reported Spanish surname categories separately. In 1950 a moderate to heavy concentration of Spanish surname population is seen in the East Los Angeles area. A moderate concentration also appears in several other areas, a heavy concentration is reported in the western section of the city of San Fernando. By 1960, a continued increase in density appears in the East Los Angeles area, the harbor area, and the San Fernando Valley area. It should be noted that while the density in the Watts area was decreasing, new growth was appearing in several other areas throughout the District. Through 1968, there was a continued concentration in the East Los Angeles area and the western portion of the city of San Fernando. A light, but much more widespread distribution appeared in many areas of the District. There is no significant Spanish surname enrollment in the Watts area at this time. Using the same ratio in an ethnic survey with other school districts immediately adjacent, Los Angeles appeared with a total Spanish surname enrollment of 20.3%, as compared with Glendale, 6.2%; Santa Monica, 11.1%; and Beverly Hills with 2.0%.

The legal framework which the Legislature has established for Los Angeles sets the criteria for the establishment of any new unified school districts. These are set out in the Education Code which is the series of laws which governs the schools in California. It requires that there be an average daily attendance of at least 10,000 youngsters in any new unified district formed. Secondly, that any new district be adequate in terms of financial ability and should not vary by any more than plus or minus 5%. It requires, thirdly, that the new districts must be organized on the basis of substantial community identity and fourthly, there must be provisions for an equitable division of capital assets of the districts and lastly, that no new district formed may promote racial or ethnic discrimination or segregation.

Decentralization

It is important to examine the term - decentralization. What does it really mean? There is no one commonly accepted definition of the term. There is really a continuum of decentralization that extends all the way from complete autonomy at the local school level to the situation as it exists now in large districts that are very highly centralized, and in between these two are various shades. It is important to look now at three points on this continuum, the three points that the District has. Most districts, or most states, have introduced into the Legislature bills that would require large districts to break up or separate or decentralize or do different things. The first point on the continuum would be to separate the District into from 5 to 16 separate districts. There was one bill that literally required that Los Angeles separate into 10 districts. The second approach would be to retain the present structure of the existing District and create sub-districts with either elected or appointed Boards of Trustees at this level who would be given certain degrees of freedom of responsibility. This may be referred to as a metropolitan system which has the Central Board with the Superintendent and the sub-districts with their advisory boards and superintendents. The third point on the continuum would use the present administrative structure, but would decentralize services and resources, but most importantly, would decentralize the decision-making process to the local school level.

The general theory of separation of large districts into smaller ones is based on the assumption that education is best achieved in school systems that serve cities that have smaller populations than the large ones. If the city of Los Angeles, a city of 3½ million people, is divided into 10 parts, we are talking about smaller cities of about 350,000 that would have a school population of 60,000 to 65,000. Cities this size are a collection of ethnic, religious and economic communities; they are generally a heterogeneous collection of wealth, talent, poverty, educational level, religious areas, racial stock -- they are a mixture of all the "melting pot" that goes to make up America. These are the things that one would find in a normal town of 350,000. Cities of this size stretch across the country, and they appear to have responsible school officials that understand the dreams and aspirations of the citizens; they appear to be large enough to be efficient and yet small enough to be responsive to the community. They appear not to have the problems that the large systems have and, therefore, separation is put forth as a solution to the problems of large urban areas. If a large district was separated into 10 districts, great responsibility for authority and policy is placed in the hands of the locally elected or appointed Board of Education. The professional responsibility and authority for execution of this policy is placed in the hands of a Superintendent who is selected by the locally elected or appointed by the Board of Education. And there is no greater difference, then, between lay responsibility and professional responsibility than in a large district, except now it goes ten ways instead of one. Keeping this in mind with the five criteria pointed out a while ago, the average daily attendance, community identity and division of assets, and the most neglected, separations, etc., an attempt was made to divide the City of Los Angeles into ten districts.

The dimensions of these two attempts to divide did not take into consideration the requirement for substantial community identity. There are 54 communities within the boundaries of the City of Los Angeles itself. There are 25 incorporated cities all or part within the boundaries of the school district, which includes the City of Los Angeles, and there are 15 that are identified but unincorporated, and an additional 15 that might become incorporated within the school district boundaries itself, but it has not been possible to figure out how to crack that, as yet. It was found that it was not possible to separate on the basis of average daily attendance and assessed valuation without adding the additional factor of community identity, and this could not be done without using the schools as an instrument to contribute to racial and ethnic segregation. One school official expressed himself as follows: "People who will argue that separation is the cure for what ails a large city are really contending that all you have to do is take a city, like Los Angeles, draw lines around certain areas calling them school boundaries and call that a school district. We feel that any one of these that you might draw on this map, or on any other city map as far as that is concerned, couldn't possibly produce a cross-section of the population of a large city. The truth is, any new districts that may be formed from a large city district, are going to come up with lesser districts that are far more homogeneous than they are heterogeneous. But if a district is divided on the basis of average daily attendance or any other way, the result is districts that are de juris segrated districts -- districts that have unequal assessed valution, districts that have unequal wealth and, under these circumstances, separation will not provide for any better community identification than now exists and would not improve the city. There is one overall objective to look for in attempts to adjust our organization and this would be a better education for each child."

A second alternative is the use of the metropolitan board idea. This would retain the present Board of Education as the metropolitan board; it would be responsible for the overall administration of the district. This plan envisioned a number of locally elected or appointed area Boards of Trustees to whom would be delegated powers and responsibilities that relate to curriculum, courses of study, pupil conduct, pupil personnel; that is, whatever was decided to allocate or whatever degrees of freedoms were decided to be given. Now, this decentralized structure would allocate responsibility and authority for educational policy and decision-making, or would sub-divide this authority between the Metropolitan Board and the ten local appointed or elected area Boards of Trustees. Professional responsibility for execution of policy would be organized between the Superintendent of the Metropolitan Board and the ten Superintendents of the locally appointed or elected Boards. The nature of this plan, then, basically is the withholding from local Boards of Trustees of full responsibility for policy decisions, and the local Superintendent has withheld from him total responsibility for administering the schools in his district or area. The groundwork then is laid for confusion, misunderstanding and dissension. It is clear looking at the East Coast, that if this system is going to be effective with degrees of freedom and responsibility that are handed to local boards, they have to be carefully and thoroughly agreed upon and specifically stated. This system or model could work if assignments are made carefully and specifically as to who is responsible for what, and if some provision is madefor reaching agreements among the people who disagree on these matters. An additional factor can be designated a self-corrective mechanism, for it is entirely possible to achieve an improved product on the educational production line within the present pattern or organization.

Historically, in Los Angeles, the school organization has adapted to meet the problems, and the needs, and to meet the pressures that have been the Los Angeles history. A historical review of the organization and decentralization in Los Angeles City School District has disclosed that a centralized type of organization was in effect in 1930, nearly forty years ago. It is not unreasonable to assume that efforts of decentralization preceded that day by a good many years. In fact in the strictest sense, decentralization occurs in a school district with the establishment of a second school and the delegation of responsibility to the principal of that school. As a result of the 1934 Survey of the Los Angeles School District, the six existing elementary instructional areas became instructional sections each with an assistant superintendent who was responsible for elementary, secondary and evening schools. Then in 1938, apparently as a result of internal problems, the six instructional sections were abandoned and replaced with four elementary districts, with administrative responsibility fo secondary and evening schools moved to the central office.

Probably because of financial problems in 1942, the number of elementary districts was reduced from four to three. Then, several year later, in 1945, a central office, division of elementary education, was established together with four decentralized district offices. By 1947, the growth in the San Fernando Valley resulted in a fifth elementary district. Ten years later, continued growth of the Valley required the division of the Valley district into separate East Valley and West Valley districts.

## Administrative Decentralization

In 1960, two management firms recommended to the district eight elementary administrative areas, and four secondary administrative areas be established, and in 1965, this was done. Since 1965, several other decentralization moves have taken place. Four curriculum development centers have been opened, and an East Los Angeles instructional planning center has been activated. The eight elementary administrative areas are also considered as assignment areas; teachers employed by the school district are able to request assignment to specific areas. School assignments are then worked out by the area offices. Two certificated employment offices, one in the Valley and the other in the South Harbor supplement the downtown personnel division employment office. It should be noted that eight decentralized maintenance areas have boundaries which are similar with those of the elementary administrative areas. Four secondary areas have continued in effect since 1965. The four areas are also considered assignment areas for secondary teachers.

There are six classified employment offices in the city covering 17 geographic areas to which classified employees can request assignment. Four health offices are located in conjunction with four of these employment offices. Eight decentralized welfare and attendance service offices serve eight areas with somewhat different boundaries than the eight elementary administrative areas. In addition to the established pattern of decentralized administrative control and service functions, the size of the district has enabled it to provide many specialized services. Although centrally administered, these services are dispersed throughout the district; the services are thus available where the need is. Pupils with health problems in Los Angeles can receive help at one of ten health centers, five guidance centers and twelve dental clinics. These facilities are provided with the cooperation of the PTA. Programs for trainable mentally-retarded children are available at 8 school locations. These pupils are bussed to and from school. Additional special education programs are maintained throughout the district and include 8 elementary and 2 secondary schools for physically handicapped or crippled children, 1 school for the blind and 2 schools for the deaf. Sight-saving classes, speech therapy classes and educationally handicapped classes are located in regular schools where there is available classroom space. Over 200 students from other school districts surrounding Los Angeles are enrolled in special programs offered by the school district. In recent years Los Angeles has been receiving a growing number of non-English-speaking children from Mexico and other Latin American countries. Twenty-nine of the 83 junior high schools have special foreign speaking and "English as a second language" classes. Twenty-one of the 54 high schools also maintain "special English as a second langauge" classes. The school district operates 67 children centers with a large proportion of them serving in areas with a large minority group population. There are, in Los Angeles, 27 community adult schools in over 600 branch locations.

### Title III Projects

The Title III Center services the total Los Angeles District. It is under an assistant superintendent at Headquarters of the Board of Education. It has as one of its responsibilities, working with people in the development of new projects, innovative ideas, planning or the working with those that have already been funded, in refunding, budgeting, etc. There are Title III projects which have been funded under Title III, and there are also those which have been funded under Title III as separate funding. The Title III Center has the responsibility for the Jordan educational complex and the Garfield complex.

The reason for that is that these two complexes cut across all levels of education; elementary, secondary, and adult. There is one adult school, 1 high school, 1 junior high school and 4 elementary schools in the Garfield complex.

Each one of the Garfield schools has a school community advisory committee that works with its own school. Each of these advisory committees has formed a complex advisory board which functions for the total area. This board is made up of parent, teacher and, in some cases, student (mostly from the high school) representatives from all of these, and they have the control of that which takes place within the funds of the complex. When a program is written, they are in on the writing. This was all funded with Title III funds of $1,320,000.00

The activities and program are continuing a school community advisory committee, complex advisory board, family centers which hit the students at 3½, 4 or 5 years old, kindergarten program which was new to the area where there was a teacher teaching a single session for 3 hours and use the other time to work with small groups and parents. It is now a State law and all schools in the State and city will go into a single session next year. The individualized instruction in reading started with first grade and second grade last year, and has been extended to third grade this year. The curriculum development aspect of it is the curriculum necessary for the continuing of these projects. The past year $877,000 was spent to operate the center and it averaged to $144.91 per pupil. Some of these were adults which didn't use the money. Only the pupil cost was included; the in-service training cost was not included in total cost figures. The number of kindergarten teachers, number of individualized instruction and number in articulation and the number in senior high schools -- the biggest bulk of the money was at these levels in estimating costs. If cost estimates were made on a program basis, which should be done, it would be much higher. Kindergarten costs would actually be double.

The Center is involved in other projects ; there is an 18-school project, an instructional management program, a Title I data base, a demographic information base, and 20 new programs are being developed right now. A year ago, the District formed what is called the 18 School Project. This year 5 other schools were added so there are 9 elementary and 9 secondary schools. These schools have been working very closely with their communities in the city-wide adoption of advisory committees at the local level. It is recommended for all schools and the report shows what schools have them and to what degree, who is on them, etc. But even though the Superintendent's Bulletin said all schools should move in this direction, the District concentrated on the 13 schools last year in order to try to find guidelines for the City.

The principals and committee members were in agreement that the project is proceeding in the right direction, and as expected, problems have been encountered, but a willingness has been found among school staff and community people to work these problems through in the best interests of the children of the school.

The unique part about the Project is that local school programs are being decided cooperatively by community people and school personnel following a plan of assessing the needs of the children in that school setting, priorities, and developing alternate plans and selecting plans to meet the needs of the youngsters. And this is the unique part about it -- the fact that is making it different from other projects in the City.

The parents do not conduct need surveys. The project provides the necessary information using resource people in the schools -- the school nurse, the counselor, the teachers themselves, records that are in the school -- and when the information is compiled, it is then shared with the advisory committee of the school planning council and from the information they have, they usually meet in committees and set up a priority of needs as they see it. In addition, the school is also doing likewise.

It is important to note that there is a lot of emphasis placed upon the determination of needs and setting of priorities locally. Two to three years ago, the determination of needs and setting of priorities was done on a district-wide basis. The project maintains that the needs for a large city like Los Angeles is different from one school to the next, from one community within a district to the next, so that the needs and the priorities which are set should be within that school or within that area. The parents set the groundwork for establishing the particular program. This procedure is set out in Superintendent's Bulletin 19. Each school has a parent-school planning council. The council meets twice a month, more often if it is needed. The school staff will bring to their attention problems in the school or they, in turn, will bring their concerns to the school staff, to these meetings. And in these meetings, they discuss their concerns and come up with some recommendation that is passed along to the principal and the faculty and then the principal will meet together again with the committee and work again for some workable solution to the concerns of the community. At one particular school, an inner-city school, the school is involved with double sessions -- the children are attending school half-days. This was a major concern of the community advisory committee and in cooperation between the committee and the principal, they were able to work out a solution whereby the children attend school full time without additional facilities.

### Community Advisory Committees

The Board of Education has not relinquished any powers whatsoever to the local groups, it is strictly advisory. The Chairman of the Jordan Educational Complex expressed her views on advisory group powers -- the power to fire teachers, etc. -- as follows: "We don't need all these powers, we can get all these things by running a good program, because if we run a good program in our schools, we will get rid of the unsatisfactory teachers." And a school official commented: "I thought her philosophy was really good. You don't need the power to tell a teacher he or she is no good, run a good program and they don't fit, so they will get out. And I think if these committees can function in this way, it will bring about local involvement without too much uproar."

In the schools, the advisory committee meetings are set up so they are open meetings. Members of the community may come to the meetings and there is a space on the agenda for them to express their feelings and they do, often quite strongly. The meetings often last for three or four hours at a time making sure the Garfield Complex is engaged in it's stated goals. Specific complaints about teachers has not been a dominant phase of the program. There are, however, other types of manifestations. At the Jefferson High School, a black principal was demanded; then the black principal had to leave. Now there is a black principal there. At Manual Arts, a white principal was there; now they have a black vice-principal who is working with the 18 School Project. When they were having all the problems at Jefferson and the former principal left, he told the community "Look, I came in -- you asked me to come in -- you didn't give me any support, so I'm leaving" and he left the District. At the same time, the advisory committee at Manual Arts went to a white man in an all black community and said, "Look, you're not going to leave us, are you? You're doing a good job." It would seem, therefore, that people want people doing a good job -- black or white. In the Garfield area, they wanted more Mexican-American administrators because there are very few in the District that have gone through what is called the administrative branch. There have been pressures from two places - one is to form what is called a Mexican-American Commission which was formed last year and is operational now. One of the emphasis was to bring more teachers and more Mexican-American administrators into the system. There had been one person, who had been a Supervisor of Foreign Language for years in the District, he is now principal. He was not on a list, but he was appointed to this position. There was one other person who was a Mexican-American and he was assigned to go to East Los Angeles, and he refused to go. He wanted to stay where he was and the community didn't come to the Board and demand that he come there. They said he had his right to go where he wanted to. The morale is high and one school official pointed out: " I can cite for you isolated instances of complaints we have them. But I think, and I can say this with pretty good verification, in our Jordan area and in the Garfield area where we developed these complexes with advisory committees, etc., there have been no walkouts, there have been no closings of the schools - the schools around them have, but they haven't. Jefferson, Fremont, Manual Arts, yes; but not at Jordan, because we have the advisory committee there, they are working as a unit in the community. When some outsider from outside the area comes in and tries to stir things up, the Committee Chairman says, 'get out of here, you're not part of our group. We're running our community.' The same is true in the Garfield area. Garfield is surrounded by Lincoln and Roosevelt, these two were the ones that were having the most problems. They closed down the schools for a couple of days. Garfield has its problems , the problems have been internal within the complex such as 'you didn't appoint the man we wanted to be the counselor at the school within the complex, we want this man.' The advisory committee recommended names, the principal recommended names, and finally they took the people off the list and they got results. It took a long time, it took longer than they thought it would take, but it was solved at the local school level."

The complex itself tends tooperate as far as programs within its community as a separate entity. Yet the principal of that school is responsible to the Area Superintendent. The line staff is still there, but the other phase, such as Project Director is appointed as a Director and not as a Superintendent, so he is directing the operation of the complex as it ties with the regular operations, and he then reports to the Assistant Superintendent for Urban Affairs. However, the principal reports to the Area Superintendent if he has a staff problem, or he goes to the Director. If the staff problem is a personal one -- "I don't like the way you are teaching, you're not doing a good job, and I'm thinking of relieving you" -- that is a purely staff line-Area Superintendent reporting system. But if it involves dismissal, that is the principal's responsibility.

The procedure for innovation is that the curriculum must be approved by the

County Superintendent. A course cannot be introduced directly by the teacher. If you want to introduce a course in the Influence of the Chinese on the Culture of California and you are in a school where there is interest in Oriental language, the procedure is to take it in paperwork form through the Instructional and Planning Services Branch, it then gets numbered and put into the catalog and becomes legal. It is a procedure that becomes finally approved by the Board. All the people along the line aren't giving judgement on it. The course content is looked at by the Supervisor in Curriculum and if he says that the outline covers the material, then it is worth a course.

## Ethnic Decentralization Projects

The decentralized unit has to respond to and deal effectively with the problems of teacher recruitment, teacher tenure, administrators, monies for construction, monies to implement what parents feel and believe they need. The unit has to have flexibility in packaging several sources of funds, and most important, in narrowing the creditibility gap between community, parental, and student requests and the ability of a decentralized unit to produce. The Board of Education is making an effort to respond to an urban crisis in the education of ethnic groups. "Community groups and parents know what they want; they are questioning whether they want decentralization, though," a school official pointed out.

Los Angeles set up two separate systems, one in South Los Angeles and one in East Los Angeles. They picked an area where all the elementary schools continually sent 100% of their youngsters to the junior high school which sends 100% of its youngsters to a senior high school. They selected two areas in the city which had some kind of community identity, in South Los Angeles they selected Watts, which was not too long after the Watts riots, and people in that community were making at that time, and still are, an effort to even more effectively do something about their own problems. They then picked a community in East Los Angeles. They had all kinds of assurances from everybody and were promised at that time, $10 million out of the research funds from the Title II office, $5 million in each complex, 5,000 youngsters total in each site. The idea caught on, and the next thing they knew, there was a conference in Washington about sub-systems in large districts, and they gave away the promised $10 million. The result of all this was to end up with $ 1½ million.

The Garfield Educational Complex which is the Title III Project located in the Mexican-American area is related to a second complex located in the Watts area. The communities served by these two projects are characterized by high drop-out rates, a high rate of student absenteeism, a high percentage of welfare recipients, low employment and low academic achivement. Their combined pupil enrollment exceeds 18,000. The idea originated early in 1967 as a step towards decentralization and as an attempt to meet the specific educational needs of distinct communities. A $35,000 planning grant was originally funded and obtained from the Federal government in order to form a four-man planning team. The new approach adopted was to reverse the traditional approaches and go into the community and in any way possible, seek to determine the educational needs by personal contact and through this assessment, have them set the priorities for the proposal to be submitted. The new program attempted to involve everyone in the target area to the best of their ability; they had night and day meetings; they met in large groups and small groups; and they met groups of every variety and philosophy and made personal home calls if individuals wanted to request information. A strong effort was made to contact everyone within the given period of time and development of the planning team and their proposal. In this way, they were able to assess the needs of the community in a very distinct and very strong manner. The intent was to provide an articulated educational experience from pre-kindergarten through the twelfth grade to the adult level. The funding of $1,500,000 for two complexes on July 1, 1968 did not allow for this anticipated articulation, but did provide for certain programs that met the top priorities that had been set by the community. The emphasis actually was really on the elementary school in a preventive way, rather than remedial or secondary, although there were a small number of programs in the junior high school and senior high, but not what had been anticipated in a very articulated sense. The idea of a centrally located advisory board resulted after interest was expressed in having a community group who would have the responsibility of the complex. This plan has brought about the unity of purpose to the program. The Advisory Board is made up of members of each of the school's advisory committees and they are elected at that local level. The Boards include teachers, secondary students, and representatives of Headstart. They have since added one representative of the administration of the seven complex schools in the Berkeley area and one administrative representative; and they have also included a new category to allow one of the coordinators of the complex staff to sit in. Recently, the Mexican-American Commission requested a new category be added to the Board and that a member of the Mexican-American Commission be allowed to sit in, but this was turned down. The Advisory Board is providing a very positive liason between the school and the community. The Board is very serious and they have accepted their responsibilities. They have organized themselves to the point where they are not at all afraid to assert themselves and to make their position clear on issues which they feel are within their jurisdiction.

### The Project Board

The members of a Board meet in a central location and are responsible for the total complex program. It is made up of representatives from advisory committees representing each of the complex schools. There are two parents from each school, there is a non-parent or a community representative, there is a teacher from each school, and then there are the two students, one from the junior high and one from the senior high schools, plus the two Headstart representatives, and they use anadministrator and a coordinator. The community is represented 75% in its involvement and so the representation is 75%. They discuss issues at their central meeting which pertain to the complex; they have the right to set the priorities of the program, they oftentimes request that monies be transferred from one section to another section in order to meet specific needs, and they set the priorities for the next proposal. The proposal which is being presented to them is an issue which has come about which they will decide upon and discuss, but it contains the elements of decision-making and involvement. One proposal to be presented to the Advisory Board is to have them consider the acceptance of an art-mobile which is a huge trailer or a traveling art gallery on wheels, which is to be used in the complex schools. This requires the use of complex funds to maintain its operation, The decision, it is felt, should be theirs to make if the school system really believes in a decentralized approach and meaningful decision-making.

The Watts Elementary School Advisory Committee

The Committee meets every month, once a month. They have elected a Chairman of the Council who is one of the parents. She makes an agenda every month and confers with the principal first, not because she is forced to, but because she has to know what is going on and she actually adds many items to the agenda herself. The parents on the Council have been mostly interested in policies of the school -- what the discipline policy is -- and to reinforce this, they want the children to have an education in a calm atmosphere. They are interested in report cards and what the school is doing about that. The school has changed their policy and now writes something to go along with the report cards because the school feels the cards are inadequate, they just indicate too much failure with no explanation about the children from disadvantaged environments.

The parents want strict discipline, sometimes stricter than the school's position on discipline. They want their children to be orderly and learning, and they want the children who cannot do this to be removed from the situation so their children have the chance to be able to learn. The school developed a policy with the Council to set up rules, and mailed them out after discussion. It involved such things as if a pupil is in a fight, parents have to bring the child back to school and have a conference; what the dress code of the school should be; the use of profanity, etc. These rules were sent home with each child so that parents would know about it and the children were taken to the auditorium in groups and it was explained to them. There was agreement with the Council that there are extenuating circumstances and you can't always follow rules in a routine fashion. The implementation of the rules and their interpretation was to be left up to the administration of the school. As each case comes up in discipline, the school has been keeping a record. When a child is sent to the office an envelope is made up and this is a duplicate of the form that is kept in the office and when the child comes back the next time, the school knows what occurred and what was said. As closely as the school can, it sticks to the rules that have been established. It has really helped a great deal and has cut down on pupil fights.

The parents are all for physical punishment of pupils and the principal administers a paddling. The first thing the parents say is "whoop 'em, beat them up, hit them". In other words, they are used to this at home, but are unaware that it has not worked. The principal finds that the best way to help the problem children is just call the parents and let them do the punishing if that is necessary. He has found cooperation; just one in a thousand doesn't cooperate. He states: "Physical punishment is being phased out slowly, there has been too much of it, in my opinion, because I don't think it does that much good. Usually you have to do it because you have forgotten to do something else, like good planning and meeting the needs of the children. They are frustrated and they do these bad things and you end up smacking them, but after you do that ten times, then that has lost its effectiveness too, and it only makes them bitter and angry -- that's the way I feel about it working here. And I really don't do it much at all."

The PTA, because of their charter, really is not allowed to be an advisory group to the principal. It is more of a welfare type of an organization. The

PTA has a regular PTA program. The principal informs the Committee of these events that are coming up. The important thing is that they are advising, the advice is being listened to and heard, and the school has learned a lot on the educational side from them about what goes on in the community and they learn from the school and like the school better for it. A couple of the people on the Council were, at one time, very militant in this neighborhood, they had gone to the Board and they were so militant about some of the things that were happening. Now they are right on the team so this is a great benefit for the children.

One indication that the community might think that the children are doing better is the Peanut Sale. The Peanut Sale for the school got double the amount of money from peanuts sold than ever before at any other drive at the school. The principal hopes that behind this, is a good feeling for the school and that the parents know the school will help the children with the money taken in. The children brought in $1257.00 in 9 days selling peanuts. This is an impoverished area -- at least 80-85% of the people are on welfare. They took them to the factories, etc. which the principal discouraged, because he didn't want the children to go door to door, but he knew that they had to have done something like this. Parents were coming in saying they wanted forty cans and that they would take them to work. So this is an indication that the parents must have thought it was worth the trouble to go and do that for the school.

At least 80% of the school area is on welfare. Most of the children come from broken families. Most of them do not have a father or man in the household. The householders seem to be mostly women with several little children, so that is why they do not work and why they are on welfare. They cannot work when they have babies and the mothers that are working mothers usually have a male in the house. The mothers on welfare are actively involved in the school just as much as the others. In the PTA, the President is on welfare. On the Council, of the five people there, two or three are on welfare. Usually they are not able to give the time either, they are on welfare because they have the kids in the house and they do not have any time to come to the school. For instance, the President of the PTA who is on welfare has to pay somebody $1.00 to babysit for her children every time she comes to the school for a meeting. The money comes out of her welfare. Some PTA Presidents are allowed $5.00 a month for expenses. In the present Federal program, the school is able to buy a lot of materials and equipment that it never could before because there is money for it.

The school has found, to begin with, that it has a very low reading level, and very low math level so there are innovating programs to upgrade curriculum and to bring the reading level up. They are doing this through testing and through departmentalized reading in the upper grades, with the result that these pupils are at least two years behind national reading norms, particularly in the upper grades. At the primary level, the children are already at the lower level and there is not much lattitude in being dropped. Now they are getting the benefit of the innovating programs where the upper grade children did not have anything before this. They had classrooms with 38 in an old building and there is quite a difference between the sixth graders now and what the second graders have had. The teachers, however, are noticing that the children are showing progress -- this is just on the teacher evaluation level which can be a valid type of evaluation.

Before the school had a full time librarian, the children were not able to use the library as often as they are now. The school has a teacher-librarian who gives a prepared lesson and the children are able to take books back to their classroom for use. Also, as a part of the departmentalization, in the morning the librarian is in charge of individualized reading and she takes about 22 of the top readers reading seventh grade or above for individualized help every morning from about 9:10 to 10:20. Taking books home is not encouraged at the moment, but the school is looking forward to being able to do this.

The principal pointed out some things that they do. "First of all, with some of our funds at various times, we have bought paperback books and put them into the classrooms, the teachers will allow them to take the books home and if they get lost, so what? Another thing was that a year ago, a wonderful thing happened that has not happened in many schools -- an outfit called the Book Lift Fund came here and they were just great. It is a charitable organization that collects funds and they came here and we had a Fair, like a Book Fair. The parents came and helped stamp these books, three for each child in the school. The parents donated cookies and gave the child a bag of cookies, so it was like a party. We set up a room with these approximately 1500 volumes, we had 500 children, and each child went in by grade level and chose three volumes that were there that they wanted. They took them home in the bag with the cookies and it was theirs to keep. This, to me, was a great motivation forreading, and the children were really thrilled. The fifth and sixth graders as one of their three books could take a dictionary, and some of them were just really thrilled at getting their own dictionary. So this type of thing -- if they could expand something like this -- there is money around for many things, I think this would be a great motivation for better reading. And there are so many homes that do not provide this at home so maybe the government or schools should help them to get more books, because the children want them."

## A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES

### I. Racial Composition and Population Size

Size of metropolitan area 7,200,000 (Approx. - 1969)

Size of the city of Los Angeles 2,964,365 (Approx. - 1969)

Percent Negro in Metropolitan area 11% (780,000 Approx. - 1969)

Percent Negro in Los Angeles 1950 171,209 (11.5%)

1965 454,623 (16.66%)

1970 (est) 611,845 (20.64%)

1980 (est) 874,460 (25.73%)

Negro as Percent of Non-white 1950 (80.91); 1960 (80.27); 1965 (82.90); 1970 (86.03); 1980 (89.98).

### II. Racial Distribution

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 95% Negro

1965 ________

1960 10.01%

1950 7.72%

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% Negro

1965 ________

1960 59.44%

1950 53.25%

Comments:

I. Figures for 1965, 1970, and 1980 % Negroes in the City of Los Angeles are based on the projections calculated by the Systems and Data Services Division of the City Planning Department.

II. 1965 data not available in Part II (racial distribution).

Most Heavily Negro Social Planning Areas

| District | Percent Negro | Density | Median Family Income | % Below Poverty Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urban Employment Survey Area* | 73.24% | 20.6/A | $5,900 Negro only | 1) 45.85% below $5,000<br>2) 24.65% below $3,500 |

Additional Facts concerning the High Negro Density Areas:*

Median Family Income in year $5,900

Size of area 3,160 acres

Population 65,235

Number of elementary schools in area

Delinquency rate

Population Density 20.6 persons/acre

School enrollment

Unemployment Approx. 16.2% (includes all age groups)

Public Welfare

Income Level

Out of school youth

* See Urban Employment Survey conducted in Los Angeles during period July 1968 - June 1969.

## III. Poverty Levels

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard ____________________

Percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3000

______________________________

Unemployment rates in the County of Los Angeles (1968 annual average)

| Area | Average | Non-White | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| Los Angeles - Long Beach S.M.S.A. | 4.7 | 8.5 | 4.2 |
| Suburban Ring | 4.3 | 9.0 | 4.0 |
| Central City | 5.4 | 8.6 | 4.6 |
| C.E.P. Area[1] | 10.3 | 16.2 | 6.1[2] |

Comments:

[1] C.E.P. area figures are for June 1968-July 1969 (See map for C.E.P. areas)

[2] Spanish-American only.

# A PROFILE OF THE LOS ANGELES SCHOOL SYSTEM

## I. Size of the System

Total number of schools 559 date September, 1969

No. of elementary schools 435 date September, 1969

No. of junior high schools 76 date September, 1969

No. of Senior High schools 48 date September, 1969

(Does not
(include
(special edu-
(cation schools
(crippled,
(etc.

## II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff* and Students

A. Staff

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Negro (dist.-wide, incl.sp. ed.) | 3936 | 14.5 |
| Negroes in white schools | DNA | |
| Negroes in Negro schools | DNA | |
| In elementary schools | 2417 | 17.9 |
| In junior High schools | 801 | 13.0 |
| In Senior High schools | 533 | 8.8 |
| Certified personnel | 27,134 | |
| Classroom teachers | DNA | |

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.) ____________________

(sec.) ____________________

Mean years experience (teachers) ____________________

% first year teachers ____________________

% non-degree ____________________

% B.A. ____________________

% M.A. ____________________

Salary - minimum (Bach) ____________________

maximum (Bach) ____________________

B. Students

Negro enrollment in elementary schools: **

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1967 | 88,759 | 23.9 |
| 1968 | 90,773 | 24.5 |
| 1969 | 90,552 | 24.9 |

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|

NONE

Comments:

Note: The City of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Unified School District are not coterminous. The School District includes several other municipalities.

* "Instructional staff" as defined in OCR Racial & Ethnic Survey, Fall, 1968.

** Because of differences in data collection requirements, data are not entirely comparable from year to year.

Student Performance

| Test Score (date: ) <br>(Standardized) | City-Wide Data<br>Raw Score | <br>Nat'l Percentile |
|---|---|---|
| Grade 2 (5/69 - Stanf. Read.) | 34.58 | 23 |
| Grade 4 DNA | | |
| Grade 6 (11/68 - Stanf. Read.) | 44.50 | 24 |
| Grade 8 DNA | | |
| Stanford Reading Achievement | | |
| End of 3rd Year (5/69) | 56.83 | 24 |
| End of 6th Year DNA | | |

C. School Board

Method of selection: Election at large by voters of school district.

Number of Negroes on School Board: None

Members of the Los Angeles Board of Education

## BIBLIOGRAPHY ON LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles Planning Department, Areas of Tracts, City of Los Angeles, 1960 Census, June 1, 1969.

Los Angeles Planning Department, Population Estimate and Housing Inventory as of April 1, 1969.

Los Angeles Community Analysis Bureau, Housing Segregation and Changes in Minority Concentrations, August 1, 1969.

Stambler, Howard V., "New Directions in Area Labor Force Statistics", Monthly Labor Review, August, 1969.

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Pacific Region, "Urban Employment Survey", October 1969

U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the South and East Los Angeles Areas", 1965.

# CHAPTER 6

# ATTITUDES ABOUT DECENTRALIZED AND COMMUNITY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS: OAKLAND

## Introduction

The city of Oakland is characterized by a rapid growth in its Negro population in the years from 1940 to 1970. Today this Negro population constitutes 34% of the city's population. Unemployment rates are unusually high for this population group, running about 20% as over against 11% for the white population. This large, impoverished Negro population is concentrated in a few sections of the city, resulting in an inbalanced school population whereby one high school has grown in the past seven years to a Negro pupil concentration of 72%.

The city's school system is dominated by a conservative segment of the upper socio-economic elements of the city. While there are two Negroes on the Board, the strong militant black faction of the city find them unacceptable representatives of the Negro community. The school system itself has not been overly responsive to educational change. As a matter of fact, the various social and economic minorities have criticized the Board and the city school administration for resisting experiments of any kind including even a survey of its activities and responses to the decentralization community control movement.

The Oakland School Board members, while aware of the demands for decentralization and community control, remain attached to the concept of centralized school control. However, the School Board has established a community control program for one of its all-black schools. The Board retains ultimate legal control, as is the case in such cities as Chicago, and Washington, D.C. The Board's position on decentralization as a whole, and the experiment on community control in West Oakland, is supported by the California Teachers Association.

Change in the Oakland School System has come to be viewed as a power struggle around racial issues. This situation is so much in contrast with the Los Angeles

School system in the same city. The school administration in Los Angeles has been innovative and experimental developing programs and assigning skilled staff to assist schools. Oakland, on the other hand, seems to be frozen into a motionless stance around conflicting ideologies resulting in very little, if any, movement towards educational change.

## Social and Economic Changes[1]

The city of Oakland is, like many other American cities, a partially decayed industrial town of sharp contrasts: great affluence and serious poverty, both stability and transiency, progress for some and retrogression for some, with much controversy over programs for urban development, education, and many other phases of the city's life, all complicated by severe class and racial tensions. The cleavage between the haves -- largely white -- and the have-nots -- largely blacks and Mexican Americans -- is fairly serious, and there is very little evidence of either side seeing the world from the point of view of the other. There has been a continuous exodus from the city by the white middle-class, and a corresponding increase in the non-white population.

Between 1940 and 1960, the number of Negroes increased tenfold, from 8642 to 83,618 or from 2 percent to 22.8 percent, and is currently about 34 percent of the population. In that same period, 53,000 whites left the city and 36,000 blacks moved into Oakland. Though it is difficult to know whether this same trend is continuing, it is a fact that the percentage of black students enrolled in the schools is steadily increasing. 1960 Census data indicated that some 43,000 adults in the city had less than an 8th grade education. Of these, about 17,000 had not gone beyond the fourth grade. School drop-outs and immigration continue to add to the numbers of the inadequately educated.

Unemployment rates have been consistently high in the last decade. In 1964, the Federal Area Redevelopment Agency declared Oakland a depressed area on the basis of the high unemployment rate. At the time, it was the only urban area west of the Mississippi River to be so designated. In June, 1964, overall unemployment figures for Oakland were estimated at 11 percent, but for the non-white population the figure was over 20%. This unemployment is concentrated among the younger members of the population and was heavier among women than among men. A large number of these unemployed are heads of households. It has been estimated that between 20 and 30 percent of the unemployed minority population could be capable of working at higher levels of skills, responsibility, and salary. Compounding the situation, it appears that unemployed persons in Oakland are unemployed for longer periods of time than is the case in other cities. There is little immediate hope for any change in this picture.

---

[1] This section has been prepared in the course of this study by Glen P. Nimnicht of the Educational Research and Development Institute, Inc.

Oakland has always had substantial numbers of various minority groups, and in many ways is similar to the State of California as a whole. But the situtation of many of the newer Negro residents is much more serious than that of earlier disadvantaged minorities. Their numbers and concentration, the damaging effects of a history of discriminatory treatment and lack of opportunity, along with the increased training and skills demanded by employers constitute a critical and urgent problem.

The effects of this situation on the educational picture are not difficult to foretell. The concentration of large proportions of Negroes in certain parts of the city affect the racial balance in the schools. In 1940, severe racial imbalance affected a small number of schools in western Oakland. By 1960, this condition had spread north into Berkeley and south to the city limits, where large concentrations of Negroes live. One effect of this concentration is indicated in the change of one high school (Castlemont) population from 44 percent Negro students in 1963 to 72 percent in 1965.

Oakland School District

There are 64,000 students from kindergarten to 12th grade in 88 school buildings. The schools are governed by an elected Board of Education of seven members who formulate policy for the schools, which are administered by a Superintendent. There are 65 K - 6 elementary schools, 15 7 - 9 junior high schools, six 10 - 12 senior high schools, two continuation high schools, an adult center, three evening adult schools, one development center for handicapped minors, and 14 children's centers, as well as special schools for the physically handicapped, the trainable mentally retarded, and the deaf and hard-of-hearing. Average daily attendance is 63,484, but both enrollment and attendance are declining. The student population is 55 percent black, 5 percent Oriental, 8 percent Mexican-American, and 32 percent white. Approximately 12,000 students are from homes receiving public assistance.

Class size averages about 10 percent higher than the acceptable standard, and the high school counseling ratio is 1 to 500, nearly twice that of accepted standards. Because of financial limitations, 3000 students in 19 schools were on double sessions in the primary grades in 1968-69. Several state and federal programs have supported special programs in the schools but so far with little tangible result. Recently, it was revealed that federal funds intended for programs for disadvantaged students had been misused, wasted, or diverted from the poor to the general funds of the district. This, in the face of a situation where 37 percent of the students in the elementary schools are reading one or more years below grade level, and about half the students are considered educationally disadvantaged.

Morale in the city's schools is quite poor. Confrontations by individuals and groups are common, physical violence is common, vandalism and arson are increasing, absence and truancy are growing, respect for authority decreasing, teacher resignations increasing.

Board of Education members in the city have traditionally been members of the dominant white upper middle class establishment. They include an executive of a large food chain, an official of the Alameda County Health Department, and several lawyers. Though there are two Negroes on the current board, the more militant blacks of Oakland do not consider them to be spokesmen for their community. Though Board members are elected by the voters of Oakland, the usual practice is for a member to resign sometime 3 to 12 weeks before the end of his term. At this point, a replacement is selected by the Board to fill out the term. This individual is then the incumbent in the next election, and generally wins out over any challenger. At the present time, five of the seven Board members are Republicans and two are Democrats.

It is the feeling of those working for basic change in the educational structure that the Board, despite many public statements about the need for change, constitutes one of the most obdurate groups blocking significant change, at least the kind that would be truly responsive to the needs of minority students. The system as a whole has a reputation for being backward and has strongly resisted educational experiments of any kind.

The operating procedures of the Board in the search for a new superintendent in the last year is a typical example. At the resignation of Stuart Phillips, a selection committee of eminent persons from the University of California and elsewhere was formed to search for a new superintendent. Eighty candidates were screened, but the Board selected Dr. James I. Mason, then superintendent of schools in Las Vegas who had not been included in the screening process. He was approved unanimously in a Board session lasting less than five minutes, and allowing for no debate and at a salary $4,500 above the budget allotment. Immediately after this announcement, stories of a conflict-of-interest suit against Dr. Mason were made public. Teachers' union officials had requested that action on the appointment be delayed until teacher organizations, school-community councils, and student organizations had been consulted. One Board member said there had never been any intention to involve the community in the selection process. However, the Board did withdraw the offer of the superintendency because of public reactions to the disclosure that Dr. Mason had accepted an honorarium from a textbook company after his school district had purchased $1 million worth of books from the company.

Another superintendent, Dr. Ercell Watson, was selected, this time a black, from Trenton, New Jersey, a community very similar to Oakland. Though the militant Black Caucus approved of this selection after several Caucus members had talked with him, they continued to condemn the Board's "secret negotiations" by which he was chosen. Dr. Watson, however, declined to come to Oakland because of his commitment to stay in Trenton. At this point, November, 1969, the Black Caucus called for the establishment of a process by which the community can be involved in the selection of a new superintendent. To date, no new candidate has been proposed.

### Bond Issue

Because California State law requires all school districts to bring schools built before 1933 up to specific earthquake standards, Oakland must finance building modifications that could cost up to $28.5 million through a bond election. In addition to this, a second bond election in 1972 totalling $21.9 million for improvement of an additional ten schools now classified as "least structurally inadequate" may develop. However, architects who have prepared studies of the various school sites have indicated that in many cases the cost of structural work and modernization would be greater than the outright demolition of existing structures and building new schools. In the face of this situation, there is some concern about population shifts in the city, and one Board member said that because of the need for desegregation, it may be that what is being looked at today in school planning may not be the issues to be placed before the voters.

In an attempt to develop city-wide support for the passage of such bond issues, the Oakland school establishment has fostered the development of school-community relations advisory councils in each elementary and secondary school in the city. Council members are appointed by principals of each school working through the PTA's. It is these groups which are looked to by the Board as their liaison with the community.

## Attitudes Toward Community Control of Schools in Oakland

When the survey was first planned by a group including the school director, a teacher, and four students, it was decided to interview a sampling of all persons in the school district, i.e., Board members, principals, teachers, and students. Permission was requested from the Superintendent's Office to enter the schools for the purpose of talking to students, teachers and principals. The Acting Superintendent, however, denied this permission "in light of the district's heavy involvement in our own evaluation programs as well as with otherresearch studies, we do not feel that we can ask our personnel to participate in another study at this time."

It was decided, then, that Bay High School students would interview Oakland High School students after school and just off the school grounds, that a few teachers could be interviewed through the Oakland Federation of Teachers, the most militant union group, and that members would be interviewed individually by telephone. The results of this interviewing follows.

### School Board Members

Each member of the school board was interviewed by telephone about community controlled schools. In addition, a public meeting of the school board was attended in November, 1969, at which the Board formally approved a partially community-controlled program for one of the Oakland High Schools (McClymonds High School, an all-black school in West Oakland with a high drop-out rate and notoriously poor morale). At the meeting the Board voted unanimously to approve the McClymonds Project essentially as presented by the consulting firm (black-owned) which developed the plan. The only objection to the plan came from an irate group of McClymonds teachers, both black and white, who protested vigorously about the fact that the staff and students at McClymonds had never been consulted, about the proposed program.

Board members were asked to respond to the following questions: What is your understanding of the nature of a community controlled school? Has this kind of a school arrangement been seriously discussed by the Oakland School Board? If yes, what were the reactions of the Board members? Would you support community schools in Oakland? Why?

All Board members realized that community control of large city school districts was being demanded and all accepted this as the next stage of organization of such systems. However, their answers to the first question of what they understand as a community controlled school varied from those who believed control should be given outright to neighborhood groups, including control over hiring and firing of teachers, educational policies, and fiscal matters, to those who felt that many variations between partial and full control were possible, with one member (considered the most liberal member) saying that he would like to see a gradual transfer of control from the central board to neighborhood groups. He would favor central board control until such time as the local group was "ready" to handle their own affairs. Most of the Board members recognized the need for more involvement by parents in school affairs generally. However, almost every member stressed the fact that under existing laws, control of the schools was the legal responsibility of the central board, and until such time as that was changed, they could do nothing to move toward neighborhood control. There was, in short, no willingness to help the process of change move more quickly and smoothly.

One white member felt that Oakland schools were, in fact, community controlled right now. He would not support community control because those who control must report to the community and the community must be able to change the controlling individual by elections, and he said any other ad hoc arrangement would be abhorrent to him.

All Board members felt that the McClymonds Project was a solid first step toward community control of schools, though in this case, the Board still assumes ultimate responsibility for the program, including those parts of the program involving University of California professional persons and students. One Board member acknowledged the fact that the schools were not producing quality products and that this situation would be changed when all elements in the community were involved in school operations.

Most of the members indicated that community control had not come up as a topic for Board discussion prior to consideration of the McClymonds plan which is considered a transitional phase between full board control and complete community control. But, two of those interviewed indicated that the Board is currently opposed to community control.

Teacher Attitudes

Because official permission to interview teachers and principals in their schools was withheld by the Acting Superintendent, the only group of teachers whom we were able to talk to were union members. In a telephone conversation with union leaders, the following responses were elicited:

The president of the small (30 members) Independent Classroom Teachers Association, which was originally organized to deal with teacher grievances, said: "Anything designed to break up a slow-moving, conservative school board is in the right direction. White teachers want job security. They see what happened in New York, and they would want to make sure that situation would not be repeated. I am not sure what can be done, but firing of teachers could not be controlled only by the community board. The teachers would probably be happier if there were some other way to give a greater voice to blacks."

Oakland Education Association, an affiliation of the California Teachers Association, an NEA group, takes a generally pro-Board position.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Oakland Federation of Teachers, teachers were asked, "What is your understanding of a community controlled school? Has it been discussed in your school? Would you like to see Oakland create community schools? Why? Would you like to teach in a community controlled school? These teachers are a very select group of Oakland's teachers -- predominantly forward-looking, articulate, well-informed, militant teachers with a large proportion of younger members in their ranks.

All the teachers in this group said they were for community controlled schools. Only a few indicated it had been discussed in their schools, either in any formal way or informally. McClymonds teachers said the current project had been extensively discussed. A couple of the teachers indicated that they thought students should be included on the community boards. All the teachers in this group feel that community control would be superior tothe bureaucratic control, but some of the younger, more sophisticated teachers were aware of the fact that as whites, they would probably be out of jobs, or if not, that they would have serious conflicts with the more traditional black parents in control of school policy. However, all the teachers felt that parents should be far more in touch with and in control of what happens in the schools.

Again, it should be borne in mind that this was by no means a representative sample of teacher opinions throughout the district.

Though it was our intention to include principals in the survey, none was actually contacted because of the restriction on going into the schools.

### Student Attitudes

Again, because interviewing within the school grounds was not possible, Bay High School student interviewers were restricted to after school hours near school buildings. Four students interviewed a total of about 60 students in High Schools representing the entire spectrum of student population, from 95% black to a predominantly white Oakland High School.

At Skyline High School (mainly middle class white), the responses from the students indicated that none of them had ever heard of community controlled schools, but all felt that it was a good idea when it was explained to them. One respondent felt that the students, too, should be involved in any kind of community control. Respondents from this school included the entire range of Oakland High School youth, from white middle class to black ghetto students who attend this school in the hills.

Thirty-five Oakland High School students in 10th and 11th grades responded to the question of "What do you think of community controlled schools?" as follows:

30 students did not know what it meant but when the term was explained, they said they were in favor of such an arrangement. A few expressed skepticism about when such an arrangement might take place, and none seemed to think it would happen while they were in high school. Five of the respondents felt that control should be retained by the school board.

At McClymonds High School, 18 students responded to the interviewer, a former student there himself. None had ever heard the term before. None of them knew that their school was about to become the first in the city for an experiment in community control. One very militant student said he would be in favor of it so long as black people had full control. Three people did not have enough education to take over control of their schools. Eight students really discussed the idea. Many felt that it might not work because parents might be domineering at home about school affairs. These students didn't want to be bussed in school buses, but preferred to have lowered prices on commercial transportation. One student thought parents needed guidance at first from outside by a black person not previously associated with Oakland schools. None of the students wanted an integrated school situation.

In a discussion of this plan in October, 1969, the Board unanimously approved the plan, but several members brought up questions about the plan. One Negro Board member questioned whether every student at McClymonds would want to be involved in this program. Another Negro member wanted assurance that the money for the project would not be cut off at some early point. He also wanted to know whether Oakland industries were involved in sustaining the program in the event that government funds were withheld. One member questioned the procedure for parental involvement in the program.

Several members of the MCClymonds High School faculty attended the meeting and vigorously protested the proceedings. They had not seen a copy of the plan. They had not been consulted in any way by Social Dynamics, the group that had written the proposal, nor by the Board of Education. They objected to the characterization of McClymonds as having 85% drop-out-prone students; they objected to the school being used repeatedly for experimental plans developed by outsiders, all of which had failed, leaving the faculty and students to clean up the pieces; and most importantly, they raised the question of whether any plan can succeed on the high school level with students whose elementary education had been so inadequate and pleaded for a comprehensive change in the entire structure and policy of the Oakland schools.

Black Caucus

The Black Caucus is an organization comprised of at least 40 East Bay civil rights and community organizations, including such groups as NAACP and CORE. On the issue of a new superintendent for Oakland, the Caucus had demanded the following qualifications for any appointee: He must favor community control of the schools. He must have "Positive Attitudes" on the Black Student Union. He must be in favor of mandatory black student programs. He must be sympathetic to letting out contracts to black contractors and favor in-house promotions of black teachers and administrators. He must seek a mandate of support from the Board to have a free hand to fashion a new school program in Oakland. And he must be reviewed, screened, and approved by the Black Caucus and local Black Student Unions.

Position of Mrs. Electra Price

Mrs. Price is an extremely knowledgeable black woman who has twice run for the school board (and been twice defeated), and who serves as consultant for the Black Caucus. Her views on community controlled schools are therefore, of special importance.

She believes, first, that it is unlikely that she will see in her lifetime a truly community controlled situation in Oakland. It is her contention that any arrangement short of giving the money directly to community groups to run their school, will be doomed to failure.

She is fully aware of the many problems that will be faced by a community group. For one, many black parents do not feel that they are qualified to prescribe educational programs for their children. They do not want to administer the programs on a day-to-day basis, but, rather, want to have a voice in policies governing the school. She stated flatly that community control of schools does not necessarily mean better education for the children in those schools. The issue at hand is whether the control is in the hands of people who are concerned about the education of children. She sees the problem in American education generally as how to educate the non-elite. Education has been designed primarily for those who will accept the establishment for what it is.

The fear of many who are resisting the changeover in control of the schools (and in other areas as well) stems from the fear that black people and other minority groups will use their power as white power has been used. She feels this will not happen with black people given all the other problems they will have to face.

## A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF OAKLAND

### I. Racial Composition and Population Size

Size of Metropolitan area 9 counties of Bay Area - 4,708,500 (1/70)

Alameda & Contra Costa Cys - 1,648,400 (1/70)

Size of the city of Oakland 385,700 (1968)

Percent Negro in metropolitan area 57.3% Alameda-Contra Costa

Percent Negro in Oakland 1950 12.4% - 47,562

1960 22.8 - 83,618

1966 30% - 110,100

1970 (est) 35 - 39%

1980 (est) -----

Negro as percent of Non-white (1960) 26.4% non-white, 22.8% Negro

### II. Racial Distribution

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 95% Negro

1960 270,523 blacks in Oakland - 367,548 whites

There were no census tracts with 95% Negro in either the 1950 or 1960 census figures. No projections had been made for 1965 for Oakland.

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% Negro

1950 25,630 Negroes, or 5%, lived in areas of 70%+ Negro population.

1960 167,068 Negroes, or 62%, lived in areas of 50% + Negro population.

In 1960 there were no areas (census tracts) with 95% or more Negro population.

Comments:

Most Heavily Negro Social Planning Areas

| District | Percent Negro | Density | Median Family Income | % Below Poverty Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1966<br>Model Cities areas<br>A B C D | 86,090 of<br>142,058 or<br>61% | No exact figures<br>13% overcrowded<br>90.3% houses built before 1939. | 1960<br>$4906 all N. families in Oakland<br>Low - $2719<br>High - $6228 in target areas | 2278 households out of 25,539 households<br>9% |

Additional Facts concerning the High Negro Density Areas:

Median Family Income in year $6087 (1966)

Size of area 40 to 60% of city size

Population 142,057

Number of elementary schools in area 23

Delinquency rate Total number of juveniles referred to Probation Dept. (1965) 2,431 or 16.7%. Total over 18 deferred in 1964 - 28,418 or 24.2%.

Population Density 1966 target areas - 4530 households had 6 or more persons (Oakland total 6160)

School Enrollment 24,908

Unemployment In all target areas 4,890 or 14.3%

Public Welfare no figures available

Income Level 1966 - all target areas 33,740 families. 180 families under $1000 to 60 families at $25,000 and over.

Out of School youth no figures available

## III. Poverty Levels

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard 13,343 or 38%

Percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3000

86,090 persons

Unemployment rates in the City of Oakland

| Date | Average | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1966 | 8 | 12.9 | 5.9' |

Target areas for Model Cities project area - 14.7% both men and women

Comments:

These figures are from the Application for Planning Grant Model Cities Program, City of Oakland, April 3, 1967.

## Unemployment Rates for Oakland by Sex, Race, Age, and Area of City, 1966

| Population Groups | Percent of Civilian Labor Force Unemployed<br>Total Oakland | <br>Target Areas | <br>Other Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| All Persons | 8.0 | 13.1 | 5.3 |
| **By Sex** | | | |
| Male | 6.4 | 10.6 | 4.3 |
| Female | 10.1 | 16.3 | 6.8 |
| **By Race** | | | |
| White, excluding Mexican American | 5.9 | 10.6 | 4.4 |
| Mexican American | 9.9 | 14.9 | a |
| Negro | 12.9 | 14.7 | 7.4 |
| **By Age** | | | |
| Persons 14 to 19 years old | 31.0 | 41.2 | 25.0 |
| Persons 20 to 24 years old | 10.5 | 17.9 | 6.9 |
| Persons 25 to 34 years old | 6.8 | 12.3 | 3.7 |
| Persons 35 to 44 years old | 6.2 | 10.0 | 4.0 |
| Persons 45 to 64 years old | 3.8 | 6.9 | 2.5 |
| Persons 65 years old and over | 2.8 | a | a |

[a] Sample of insufficient size to provide meaningful rate for category.

Despite the small loss in total population that occurred between 1960 and 1966, the city's resident labor force increased by 6,700 people. During the past six years, the male labor force fell by just over four percent, while the female labor force grew nearly 20 percent. In addition, the unemployment rate for males dropped slightly, while the female unemployment rate rose by over one-half. While specific percentages for the Target Areas,[1] of which the Model City area is a part, are different, the pattern.......

---

[1] Within the Target Areas of the city live 80 percent of all Negro residents of the city, 70 percent of all white residents of Mexican descent, and 40 percent of all other nonwhite residents.

# A PROFILE OF THE OAKLAND SCHOOL SYSTEM

## I. Size of the System

Total number of schools 90 date October, 1969

No. of elementary schools 67 date October 1969

No. of Junior schools 15 date October 1969

No. of Senior High Schools 8 date October, 1969

## II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff and Students

### A. Staff

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Negro | | |
| Negroes in white schools | | |
| In elementary schools | NO DATA AVAILABLE | |
| In Senior High Schools | | |
| Certified personnel | | |
| Classroom teachers | | |

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.) ____________________

(sec.) ____________________

Mean years experience (teachers) ________________

% first year teachers ______________

% non-degree ________________________

% B.A. ____________________

% M.A. ____________________

Salary - minimum (Bach) _______________

maximum (Bach) _______________

B. Students

Negro enrollment in elementary schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| October, 1969 | 20,749 | 57.4 |

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| October,1969 | 13,408 | 92 |

Comments:

State definition of unbalanced school is one in which there is 15% or more beyond the proportion of the minority group in the neighborhood.

Student Performance

| Test Score (date: ) (Standardized) | Schools 95-100% Negro | White |
|---|---|---|
| Grade 2 | | |
| Grade 4 | | |
| Grade 6 | | |
| Grade 8 | | |
| Stanford Reading Achievement | | |
| End of 3rd Year | | |
| End of 6th Year | | |

C. School Board

Method of selection: Elected city-wide

Number of Negroes on School Board: Two

Members of the Oakland Board of Education

Melvin J. Caughell
Charles W. Goady
Barney E. Hilburn
Lorenzo N. Hoopes
Carl B. Munck
Seymour M. Rose
Mrs. Ann Cornielle, President

Oakland Tribune Thursday, December 21, 1967

# Schools, Grades Listed

In table below Cal indicates median for the state; OPS indicates median for all Oakland Public Schools; X indicates median for school listed at left.

| School | Median Family Incmoo 1966 | Grade 1 SAT reading | | | Grade 2 SAT reading | | | Grade 3 SAT reading | | | Grade 6 SAT reading | | | Grade 6 IQ Testing | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cal | OPS | X | Cal | OPS | X | Cal | OPS | X | Cal | OPS | X | Cal | OPS | X |
| Kaiser | $11,515 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 99 | 93 | 112 |
| Joaquin Miller | 11,315 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.4 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.4 | 99 | 93 | 112 |
| Hillcrest | 10,825 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.5 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.2 | 99 | 93 | 108 |
| Munck | 10,657 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.3 | 99 | 93 | 103 |
| Grass Valley | 10,388 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.3 | 99 | 93 | 108 |
| Montclair | 10,245 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.1 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.7 | 99 | 93 | 110 |
| Crocker Highlands | 9,623 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.7 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.7 | 99 | 93 | 105 |
| Thornhill | 9,269 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.8 | 99 | 93 | 111 |
| Howard | 8,987 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.1 | 99 | 93 | 105 |
| Chabot | 8,317 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.4 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.8 | 99 | 93 | 110 |
| Rockridge | 8,218 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.7 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.8 | 99 | 93 | 108 |
| Marshall | 8,099 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 99 | 93 | 102 |
| John Swett | 8,035 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.5 | 99 | 93 | 96 |
| Burckhalter | 7,794 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 99 | 93 | 93 |
| Redwood Heights | 7,793 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.2 | 99 | 93 | 108 |
| Sequoia | 7,734 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.3 | 99 | 93 | 100 |
| Laurel | 7,525 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.7 | 99 | 93 | 106 |
| Lakeview | 7,396 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 5.4 | 3.1 | 3.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.2 | 99 | 93 | 107 |
| Cleveland | 7,341 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.0 | 99 | 93 | 104 |
| Burbank | 7,336 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 99 | 93 | 99 |
| Glenview | 7,324 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 6.3 | 99 | 93 | 106 |
| Sherman | 7,311 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.0 | 99 | 93 | 97 |
| Toler Heights | 7,303 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | | 99 | 93 | |
| Maxwell Park | 7,106 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.5 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 99 | 93 | 95 |
| Parker | 6,922 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 99 | 93 | 92 |
| Piedmont Avenue | 6,894 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 4.6 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 99 | 93 | 100 |
| Fruitvale | 6,843 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.0 | 99 | 93 | 95 |
| Bella Vista | 6,460 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 99 | 93 | 93 |
| Peralta | 6,407 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 99 | 93 | 91 |
| Allendale | 6,381 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.7 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 99 | 93 | 98 |
| Manzanita | 6,355 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 85 |
| Cox | 6,354 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 99 | 93 | 91 |
| Jefferson | 6,350 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 99 | 93 | 99 |
| Markham | 6,280 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.1 | 99 | 93 | 88 |
| Webster | 6,264 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.0 | 99 | 93 | 88 |
| Horace Mann | 6,257 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.9 | 99 | 93 | 93 |
| Emerson | 6,147 | 16 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 99 | 93 | 96 |
| Whittier | 6,063 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 99 | 93 | 91 |
| Washington | 5,984 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 87 |
| Stonehurst | 5,801 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 91 |
| Sobrante Park | 5,729 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 3.8 | 99 | 93 | 85 |
| Brookfield | 5,727 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 91 |
| Dag Hammarskjold | 5,705 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 8.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 99 | 93 | 83 |
| Hawthorne | 5,670 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 99 | 93 | 91 |
| Lincoln | 5,651 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.4 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.3 | 99 | 93 | 90 |
| Highland | 5,647 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 88 |
| Franklin | 5,454 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 99 | 93 | 91 |
| Garfield | 5,412 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.1 | 99 | 93 | 87 |
| Melrose | 5,339 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 99 | 93 | 86 |
| Santa Fe | 5,327 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 99 | 93 | 88 |
| Golden Gate | 5,283 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.0 | 99 | 93 | 88 |
| Longfellow | 5,013 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.9 | 99 | 93 | 95 |
| Lockwood | 4,895 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 87 |
| Lazear | 4,794 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.1 | 99 | 93 | 88 |
| Woodland | 4,794 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 90 |
| Edison | 4,742 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 5.0 | 99 | 93 | 95 |
| Durant | 4,231 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.3 | 99 | 93 | 90 |
| Clawson | 4,213 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.3 | 99 | 93 | 89 |
| Willow Manor | 4,070 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 3.4 | 99 | 93 | 81 |
| Lafayette | 3,858 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.6 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 3.8 | 99 | 93 | 84 |
| Prescott | 3,507 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.8 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.3 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 99 | 93 | 87 |
| Cole | 3,354 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 99 | 93 | 89 |
| Bunche | 3,318 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 99 | 93 | 83 |

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alameda County Growth Indices, Air Transportation, Finance, Real Estate, Building and Construction, Utilities, Transportation. Oakland Chamber of Commerce, March, 1969.

Alameda County Profile, Alameda County Human Relations Commission, December 30, 1969.

Alliance For Community Education at McClymonds High School Dropout Prevention Program. Title VIII of Public Law 90-247 Social Dynamics, Incorporated, Consultant and the Oakland Unified School District, November, 1969.

Analysis of Federal Decision Making and Impact: The Federal Government in Oakland, Vol I and II. Oakland Task Force, San Francisco Federal Executive Board. July 1969.

Bibliography - Research studies on Oakland (Collection from an unpublished manuscript) Electra Price

Budget Summary - City of Oakland 1969-70, Prepared by Jerome Keithly, City Manager and Staff

Board Meetings and Members, Oakland City Government, City Clerk, Gladys Murphy. April through Octiver, 1969.

California Voice, E. A. Daly, Editor. (Weekly Black Newspaper)

Central District-Urban Renewal Plan, Redevelopment Agency-Oakland, May 27, 1969

Characteristics of the Population of Oakland, California 1966, Prepared for the Department of Employment - State of California. 701 Sample Census of Oakland Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley. December 2, 1966. William L. Nichols, II, Study Director.

Comparative Data, Nine Bay Area Counties and Metropolitan Areas, Current information on the most significant measures of economic activity effecting growth and development of the Bay Area Counties. Research Department, Oakland Chamber of Commerce, 1969.

Community Leaders - City of Oakland (unpublished research).

Congressional Quarterly, Special Report - Urban Problems and Civil Disorders, Congressional Quarterly Service, Washington, D.C., September 8, 1969.

Crime and Juvenile Delinquency-City Wide, Target Areas. Oakland Model Cities Proposal, 1967.

Digest of Current Federal Programs in the City of Oakland, October 1969. Prepared for Mayor John H. Reading by Jeffery L. Pressman with the assistance of the Redevelopment Agency and the City of Oakland.

Ethnic Census - Oakland Public Schools. Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High. October, 1969, Oakland Unified School District.

Federal Information Exchange System. County Program Summary as of June 30, 1969. Compiled for the Executive Office of the President by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Fifty Largest Private and Governmental Employers in Alameda County, December 1965 Research Department - Oakland Chamber of Commerce.

For All The People....By All The People. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1969. A Report on Equal Opportunity in State and Local Government Employment.

Major Occupational Categories Within Major Industry Groups. Non-Agricultural Wage and Salary Workers. Alameda County, July 1966, Percent Distribution. East Bay Manpower Survey, Alameda County 1966-1977 California Department of Employment. Oakland 701 Project.

Manpower Commission Final Report Summary of Findings. Contract No. 7-35214, Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce. Technical Assistance Project. City of Oakland, California, Manpower Commission, October 1968.

Manpower Commission Final Report, Contract NO. 7-35214. Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, Technical Assistance Project, Dissolution of Commission, City of Oakland, California, Manpower Commission, May, 1969.

Maps - Attendance Areas. Oakland Elementary, Junior High and Senior High School. Oakland Unified School District, November, 1968.

Maps - Central District Urban Renewal Area, Land Acquisition. Oakland Redevelopment Agency, May 23, 1969.

Maps - Central District Urban Renewal Area - Land Use Plan Map. Oakland Redevelopment Agency, May 23, 1969.

Maps - City Council Districts, Oakland Tribune, 1968.

Maps - Housing Conditions 1960. Oakland Redevelopment Agency, 1967.

Maps - Median Annual Income - 1960, Oakland Redevelopment Agency, 1967.

Maps - Oakland School Boundaries 1940-1964. Committee on Oakland Schools, East Bay Conference on Religion and Race, September 29, 1964.

Model Cities Program - City of Oakland. Application for Planning Grant. Oakland Redevelopment Agency, April, 1967.

Montclarion - Fred Graeser, Editor (Hill Area Weekly)

Negro Market Report - Research Report #1. KDIA Radio Station, Oakland, California.

Oakland: A Demonstration City. Redevelopment Agency, Oakland, California, May 1966.

Oakland Lawyers Committee Newsletter. October 15, 1969.

Oakland Looks Ahead, The Search For a New Superintendent, Harry McPherson, Advisor. Wilson Riles and William Odell, Associate Advisors. June, 1969.

Oakland Police Department Yearly Statistical Summary, Part I and Part I, Offenses. 1961-1968.

Oakland Post, Thomas Berkely, Editor. (Black Weekly Newspaper)

Oakland Redevelopment News. Quarterly Bulletin. Redevelopment Agency, City of Oakland.

Oakland Tribune - William F. Knowland, Editor (Daily Newspaper)

Organizational Chart - City of Oakland. Office of the City Manager, 1968.

Outlook - Oakland, Alameda County. Oakland Chamber of Commerce, Vol. XXII, No. 4 October/November 1969. 11pp

Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders. Part I. Hearings Before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. United States Senate, Ninetieth Congress First Session. November 1,2,3, and 6, 1967. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

San Francisco Chronicle, Daily Newspaper

Planning Solutions to Urban Educational Problems, an E.S.E.A. Title III Project, June 1, 1969, Oakland Public Schools Urban Educational Services.

Program Needs to Further Quality Education in Oakland - For Study. Oakland Unified School District. Oakland, California, March, 1967.

Press and the O.E.D.C.I., The. 1965-1968. Oakland Economic Development Council, Inc., Oakland, California.

Provisional Overall Economic Development Program For the City of Oakland. RedevelOpment Area Organization, 1964. Oakland, California. Hospital Services, p. 35.

Racial Composition by Feeder Pattern - Oakland Public Schools. Electra Price, December, 1968.

Urban Health Brochure, West Oakland Health Council, September, 1969, Grand Opening West Oakland Health Center.

Youth Opportunity Report. Issue: Jobs for Youth Report on 1968 Campaign. City of Oakland. September, 1968.

Youth Opportunity Report., Recreation and Leisure Programs. Final Summary Report. Prepared by Oakland Recreation Department. September 15, 1969.

*********

Poverty and Poverty Programs in Oakland. (Selected results from the 701 household survey of Oakland. Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley. William L. Nichoels, II, Study Director. September, 1969.

Oakland, "The Mellow City," written and illustrated by eighth grade students, 1967-68 of Herbert Hoover Jr. High School. Oakland, 1969. Junior League of Oakland, Inc.

Oakland's Not For Burning, Amory (a dynamic experiment in urban development) Bradford. David McKay Company, Inc., New York, 1968.

Oakland, A History, G. A. Cummings and E. S. Pladwell. Grant D. Miller Mortuaries, Inc., Oakland, Calif. 1942.

Education of Disadvantaged Children in California, a report to the California State Committee on Public Education. Alan B. Wilson, Arthur R. Jensen, and David L. Elliott. University of California, Berkeley, California, December, 1966.

Education in Oakland, Jim Power. April, 1967 (Skyline High School Student)

Grants to School Boards to Assist in Dealing with Problems Incident to Desegregation, Memorandum from David S. Seeley, Director, Equal Educational Opportunities Program. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D.C., January 25, 1965.

Digest of Current Federal Programs in the City of Oakland, California. Redevelopment of the city of Oakland, August, 1966.

Digest of Current Federal Programs in the City of Oakland, Jeff Pressman (graduate student U.C.) and Redevelopment Agency, City of Oakland, October, 1968.

Alliance for Community Education of McClymonds High School, Oakland, California, a dropout prevention proposal under E.S.E.A. Title VIII. Social Dynamics, Inc., Consultants, Ernest G. Howard, President and Oakland Unified School District, Oakland, Calif., November, 1969.

Applications for Planning Grant Model Cities Program, City of Oakland, Redevelopment Agency, Oakland., April 3, 1967.

## CHAPTER 7

## DETROIT: VOLUNTARY "DECENTRALIZED SCHOOL PLAN"

The city of Detroit's population of one and one-half million is within a metropolitan areas of four and one-quarter million and constitutes one of the major urban areas containing a large and concentrated Negro population. The most rapidly growing population segment is the Negro population in the city of Detroit. While the Negro population constitutes only about 15% of the metropolitan area's population, the 1970 estimated Negro population for Detroit is 43%. In 1965, Detroit's rapidly growing Negro population constituted only about 30% of the total Detroit population.

More than half (53%) of Detroit's Negro population live in areas which have a Negro population density of 70% or more. The most heavily Negro populated sub-communities range in the percentage below the poverty level ( an income level of $3000. or less per year). The median family income for these areas ranges from $2800. to $7200. per year. The population density of these areas ( as measured in terms of persons per residential acre) ranges from 34 to 118. At the same time, the percentage of housing in these areas in "not sound condition" in 1960 ranged from 6% to 43%. It should be noted that the delinquency rate for these same areas ranged from a low of 5% to a high of 28%. In 1964 in the city as a whole, 75% of the welfare case load came from the city's Negro population. These same areas of the city produce nearly 57,000 of the school pupils in the city. Civic leaders and educational leaders have become concerned about the city's school system and its educational effectiveness especially since learning that the sixth grade level of the city's pupils are one year behind in terms of national norms. The concern expresses itself in a worry as to whether their students will be able to compete for jobs with others if they fall behind educationally. The answer to this by the Board of Education has been that the solution is a political one needing the restructuring of the educational organization os that they can do a better job. The community, or the militant black segments of it, state the the answer to the problem of effective schooling is community control and providing greater freedom thereby for improving the educational system. Community control, they state, would give them better education because it would be carried out by the local members of the community. They argue that the school system as it exists, has been resisting innovation. On the other hand, civic leaders argue that the community as a whole is fundamentally not interested in public education and the community has lacked the support for public education. The proponents of a different political structure argue that political changes, if they had occurred, would have by now forced a different educational system. They point out the tremendous problems in housing and employment and in the quality of education. They propose that greater and informal community involvement by members of the community would bring about adequate changes in the school system. This arguement is met by civic leaders who point out that it is a fact that there has been insufficient support of education and that is the explanation for the educational problems, and the other community problems. This argument, in turn, is countered by the statement that the ideas involved in community control will bring about greater community involvement and thereby greater support of public education.

The community control people also argue that it is true that the kind of districting for the school system that they want will bring about de facto - or will entrench - de facto segregation, and, as a matter of fact, even legitimize it. However they state that attempts at integration have failed. They, therefore, claim that the attempts at integration will continue to fail and that the present schooling in Detroit is not providing adequate education for the children. They argue, therefore, that not only do they want to try community control, but they are convinced that community control will bring about such changes that improvement will be inevitable. However, at the same time, they admit that in the introduction of these changes they have no way of knowing when and if they will get quality education.

They also argue, supported by black members of Detroit's school system, that inexperienced teachers are placed in black schools. They feel, therefore, that involving local people in the community in community control activities will make the school system more accountable. They also argue that this type of decentralization has a positive effect on teachers, parents and pupils in the school system.

Militant leaders among the school system's teachers are raising questions about effective teaching. One of the problems that they are concerned with is to study learning processes among Negro children. They state that if language patterns begin at eighteen months of age for a child, then schooling should begin at a much earlier age than now and the learning processes should be studied to determine how best to begin early age learning on the part of Negro children. They, too, are interested in how learning transfers are made on the part of children and how to apply this to black children. Teachers and administrators, they point out, need greater analytical skills for their jobs and especially in dealing with black children. Another type of problem that they are interested in is to study the sequence of skilled development on the part of children. They claim that one of the failures of the present school system is that teachers don't see themselves in a total learning situation and a framework of the growth development of children.

Community control leaders argue that the vital factor in community control is the power of decision-making. For example, theypoint out, that Miller Junior High School serves both a poor black area and an affluent area. However, the affluent area residents refuse to send their children to the ghetto school, and their decision in this respect has been abided by. They were concerned that the district boundaries that might come out of the Bill in the Legislature on decentralization would provide for non-contiguous boundaries and therefore, break up de facto segregation in school districts. They reasoned that, as a result, therefore, they would not be able to elect enough of their own members to control their districts.

The community control people believe that if you permit the community to be involved through democratic processes that this would enable the schools to function more effectively. At present, they view the school system as cumbersome because school principals cannot do anything about any of the local problems that arise, whether it is broken windows or sufficient heat for their building. If the system was decentralized and if you had a democratic electoral process, then they would have sufficient power (the principals) to work within and with their local community leaders and make purely local decisions.

Some of the teachers think that many children are incapable of learning. The militant community control leaders disagree. They take the position that children have learning problems if they have inadequate role models on which to model themselves in developing adequate motivation for learning. They also feel that these same children grow up in an environment in which they learn in many ways that neither they nor the adults in the community or the teachers have control over the environment in such a way as to affect it significantly and make fundamental decisions. This conception of what they define as "fate control" they view as of utmost importance in influencing the pupils' ability to learn. They assert that changes in the environment in which there would be adequate role models, such as competent black male teachers and female teachers and local community control, would bring home to the children the feeling of fate control and with it, sufficient motivation to learn and to achieve.

Within this framework they also view the Detroit school curriculum as completely inadequate. They see such reading materials as "Dick and Jane at the Beach" or "Dad Coming Home from the Office" as irrelevant materials. They assert that both the reading materials and the tests which are derived from these materials should have black individuals in the illustrations used and the accounts should depict experiences from the black community. They want to see materials of black contributors integrated into the teaching instruments used in the schools.

These views, as expressed by militant community control advocates do not stop with a demand for change in the school system, but go on to advocate changes in the police system and the social work system. They are interested, they state, in the child in his total environment and not just the school environment. They are interested in the total life style of the individual and they assert that their interest derives from a concern about the presently alienated individual in the ghetto community. They state that this problem has to be dealt with first and basically before one can grapple with problems of school achievement.

Under the present circumstances, they assert, the black child starts with stories about his history and American history which in essence reject him. The black child learns early in his school experiences that he is not an accepted individual and that he must accept an inferior role. He learns that his black parents have accepted this inferior role and the black parent expresses by his attitudes and behavior, an inferior role. They want to teach parents and children their conception of Negro history and to reject this inferior role and develop a self image and self concepts which are within the framework of fate control.

The community control view takes the position that, under the present circumstances, neither the school system, the black teacher, or the black professor is accountable to the black common man. They want to make the black professional, whether he be teacher or professor, accountable to the members of the community, that is, the members of the black community.

School militants are involved in a somewhat different set of questions. They are more concerned about who will be principal, that is, who will be principal in a racial sense rather than in a merit sense. Others want principals removed because they are "white." They argue that suburban school systems have accountability and they want accountability in the ghetto schools. They want achievement tests for teachers and principals and not just pupils. They reject analysis which advances the notion that deprivation may interfere with learning, and focus their attention on power as the answer to all learning and schooling problems.

One of the results of all this is that it is claimed that all white principals are frightened and that the black are aware of this. Therefore, this type of principal will not be an open person. In any case, this type of black leader believes that the white will not be able to survive in the black community control situation and will inevitably leave. To some extent, this is what has been happening in the city.

The Pupil and School Achievement

The view of the school administration is that if the parent is not supportive of the school, then the child will not be an achiever. In addition, among ghetto children so frequently, there is a problem of a lack of "concept of self." The child in such instances has a negative view of himself, and no self regard. Parents who are supportive of the schools become involved and they, in turn, develop a feeling of status in educational matters and transfer this to their children. The view is advanced that such children will become achievers in school.

The school administration is concerned with academic performance. They do see that social symbols and the emphasis on them are important in academic performance. They also accept the view that cultural origins or the teaching of cultural origins and a self-conception of cultural origins is important to the child in motivating him to higher academic performance.

Some members of school administration believe that the period of attempts at integration are over, and they agree with various Negro organizations that school decentralization should be so organized so as to provide for a system of de facto segregation whereby black community control could be achieved. They express this as simply a matter of keeping and maintaining the present system of de facto segregation but making it work. They also see that their problem now is to develop adequate leadership that can negotiate with other segments of the community and carry on a fruitful dialogue.

Urban Institutional Support of Education

Detroit is one of the few cities in this study in which the major university located within its boundaries is both concerned and involved in the urban problems of the city and its related educational questions. They have been making efforts to improve the university's relations with the surrounding community and to work with the community on mutual problems. The university's school of education and its center for urban studies has arrangements to do research on urban educational problems and to encourage programs related to urban educational problems throughout the university.

The university has encouraged academic departments to increase offerings in urban studies. It has fostered several critical studies of the university's role in the city and has brought groups of graduate and undergraduate students together in interdisciplinary studies of urban educational problems and has held workshops to make university expertise available to city officials and inner city groups. Members of the faculty and graduate students in these programs are active members of these various inner city committees concerned with urban educational problems.

The university, through its division of urban extension, added a program of community extension centers in the inner city. The first center located in a predominantly black section in the east side of Detroit began operation in the spring of 1969. The university hopes to have such centers in other parts of Detroit, but plans for a center on the west side have been stalled by budget problems. The east side extension center is located in what was formally an activities building for a church across the street. It has a library, rooms for community meetings and classes, and a gymnasium that is used for athletics, cultural activities, and large meetings. The center is staffed by community residents, professionals, and Wayne State students, most of whom come from the area where the center is located. The athletic programs have probably done more than anything else to get neighborhood youths involved in the center's programs and, in this way, they get to know the staff and eventually to talk to them about educational programs. The center offers 17 college-credit courses enrolling about 125 students. Most of the students are between the ages of 18 and 30, but some are as old as 50.

Because most of the students are poor, 90% receive some type of financial assistance. The center also provides tutorial and other supportive services. Classes are held at night to allow students to work during the day. All the courses are taught by regular faculty members who are carefully chosen. Most of the students could not get into the university under its regular admissions standards. Students with 12 hours of B, or 16 hours of C are automatically admitted to the university. The result is that this type of center serves as a feeder between higher education and the high schools. The center has an advisory committee of community residents helping to make sure that it meets the community's needs and to provide communications with the community.

Administrative Decentralization, 1970

In the spring of 1970, the Detroit School Board in a move toward desegregation changed high school feeder school patterns to push the white students, bunched in schools near the city's outskirts, back toward the inner city. In Detroit, as in other major cities, in the North, the public schools have been turning black racially, the educational quality has fallen, and violence has occurred occasionally. The Detroit school officials did, however, move some time ago in an effort to face racial issues. Two thirds of the 300,000 or so public school students here are non-white, but so are 2/5 of the teachers and 1/4 of the administrators, principals, assistant principals, and counselors.

The Michigan Legislature which had been studying the redistricting of the city's school system overruled the Detroit school officials' new boundary system and, at the same, time, voted a new bill decentralizing the city's school system. In what was widely regarded as a white backlash, school board members who had voted for the boundary switches were recalled.

At this point, the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit ruled that the State could not stop a local integration plan. Detroit's new School Board, in turn, gave the Federal Court several plans from which to choose. The Court in a ruling in December, 1970 rejected the approach of changing boundaries and forced bussing and called instead for the voluntary approach with what was described as "magnet" schools. The statement was that "integration for integration's sake alone is self-defeating." In his plan, the Judge calls for the establishment of magnet high schools around the city, specializing in vocational, science, arts, or business programs with students choosing the school and program they want. Such a voluntary program would be in contrast to forced bussing programs imposed by other Federal programs and is expected to become effective this fall.

The NAACP reaction to this plan was to state that " it is a free choice plan and was no doubt chosen because it would not result in any white children attending black schools." The Court statement was as follows: " In a heterogeneous society such as ours, we are satisfied what (a quality education) cannot be attained without integration. Our objective then is not integration in itself - which if achieved in the wrong way canbe counter productive - but the best education possible, with its sine qua known integration. Integration for integration's sake alone is self-defeating, it does not advance the cause of integration, except in the short haul, nor does it necessarily improve the quality of education."

The magnet plan is based on high quality schools drawing an integrated student body and providing a good education such as, for example, Detroit's Cass Technical High School, or its equivalent, the Bronx High School of Science. Under this plan, some of the high schools in each of the city's eight decentralized regions would specialize in various programs.

Integration vs. "Community Control"

The question is raised by the opponents of "community control" in Detroit - what about "integration"? The question is important since the assumption is made that Negro pupil achievement is enhanced in an "integrated" school environment. However, in most urban settings, integration has proved elusive thus far, if not impossible, for both demographic-housing or political reasons. At the same time, there is a growing shift of emphasis by minority group members themselves away from integration. Most of the proponents of these views view integration as desirable as a long range goal, however, they argue that it cannot be achieved as a short term objective. This argument advances the view that integration can be attained only through success in an intermediate phase in which blacks control their schooling, and possibly all their community institutions. These views accept the basic principle that control by Negroes over predominantly black schools defers integration as a primary short term goal; at the same time it is denied vigorously that this implies acceptance of a "separate but equal" doctrine.

The philosophy that is advanced by the "community control" advocates assumes that when Negroes achieve quality education by their own effort, that is, through control over their institutions, they will gain a sense of "potency and racial solidarity." This will provide the basis for their entering into a system of integrated relationships with the white society on a foundation of parity and equality, rather than dependency and inequality as at present.

## Urban School Reforms

Mario D. Fantini, in an unpublished paper on "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems" summarizes the fundamental reforms implied in the views of the community control advocates:

> A. Governance - a shift from professional dominance to a meaningful parental and community role in the education process.
>
> B. Goals - an evolution to a humanistically-oriented curriculum, modifying the skill-performance standard by which educational quality is primarily measured.
>
> C. Personnel - opening the educational system to a far broader base of talent than the conventionally prepared career educator, and training teachers through the reality of community needs and expression.

Fantini distinguishes these characteristics of fundamental reform from the characteristics of the traditional school system in the following manner:

| | Traditional | Reformed |
|---|---|---|
| Center of Control | Professional monopoly | The public, the community |
| Role of parent organizations | To interpret the school to the community, for public relations | To participate as active agents in matters substantive to the educational process |
| Bureaucracy | Centralized authority, limiting flexibility and initiative to the professional at the individual school level | Decentralized decision-making allowing for maximum local lay and professional initiative and flexibility, with central authority concentrating on technical assistance, long-range planning and system wide coordination. |
| Educational Objectives | Emphasis on grade level performance, basic skills, cognitive achievement | Emphasis on both cognitive and affective development. Humanistically oriented objectives, e.g., identity, connectedness, powerlessness |
| Test of professional efficiency and promotion | Emphasis on credentials and systematized advancement through the system | Emphasis on performance with students and with parent-community participants |
| Institutional philosophy | Negative self fulfilling prophecy, student failure blamed on learner, and his background | Positive self fulfilling prophecy - no student failures only program failures - accountable to learner and community |
| Basic learning unit | Classroom, credentialized teacher, school building | The community, various agents as teachers, including other students and paraprofessionals" |

Fantini concludes in an unpublished paper on "Participation, Decentralization, Community Control and Quality Education", as follows:

> "This participation made a great deal of sense, given the present reality. If the schools are still largely segregated and an inferior quality of education is continued, the natural approach seems to be for the community to take a hand in reshaping the institution toward quality education. Many of those favoring greater local control claim that those who are now talking about desegregation and integration are using this as an excuse for not allowing communities to pursue the option of community participation and increased involvement in decision-making.

The clients of our city schools are demanding a voice in updating. In so doing, they are rekindling certain philosophical and theoretical principles which takes us to the conceptual level of justification for community participation.

The first concept concerns public accountability and control of education. In our society, public schools belong to the public. It is the public that decides on policies and objectives for the school; it is the public that delegates to the professional the role of implementor and reserves for itself the role of accountant. The people are the trustees of the schools. They have a right to ask why Johnny can't read. Moreover, if 85 per cent of the Johnnies can't read, as is the case in most of our so-called inner city schools, then the public has the right and responsibility, as trustee, to supervise or monitor the needed changes -- changes aimed at reducing the discrepancy between policy and implementation.

This process has in essence been in effect; black parents and community residents have been asking why so many black children are failing. The usual answer is that the children are "culturally deprived" or "disadvantaged." In short, black children are failing because there is something wrong with them. This verdict has increasingly been rejected, and in the absence of improvement in the performance of the children, the public -- in the form of certain communities -- has begun to exercise its role as both accountant and trustee. Those in the forefront of this urban movement poignantly ask: What would happen in Scarsdale or Grosse Pointe if 85 per cent of the children in these schools were academically retarded and if 1 per cent went to college? What would be the reaction of the parents and the community?

Many black parents who had patiently waited for improvement through such efforts as compensatory education and desegregation have begun to turn away from these efforts. Increasingly, communities are rendering the diagnosis that the problem is not with the learner; the problem is with the system, with the institution. The cry now is: "We need a new system, one that is responsive to our kids and to us. It is up to us to build this new and relevant system."

Sincere schoolmen have been aware of the crises for some time but they were and still are victimized by the constraints of an outdated system. Often the professionals have become defensive, feeling that the public appears to expect the school and the schoolmen to solve all the ills of society. Many educators attempted to respond to the problem by programs of remediation on the one hand and token desegregation on the other. Both approaches were further stimulated by federal legislation but they have been less than successful. Some educators attribute the failures to the assumption which undergirds them -- namely, that the problem was with the learner and not with the institution. Certainly it is difficult, if not impossible, for those trying to keep the present system running to serve also as the major agents of institutional change. Other legitimate parties are needed. And surely the parents and students constitute legitimate parties of the public school. Therefore, one could argue

> further that if the problem is with the institution, then the movement generated by I.S. 201 offers us hope for real reform.
>
> But even if school people were able, by themselves, to bring about radical institutional changes, they would thereby by denying opportunities for parents and students to learn and grow through the process of involvement and participation. For example, through involvement, parents and students can learn more about the complexities of teaching and learning and relate this learning to their own roles of parents as teachers or students as teachers. Through involvement, parents and students can be more attuned to the role of the schoolman as an individual in a setting which places severe constraints on him; have a better view of program options; be more cognizant of the need for increased funds for education. Even more important, perhaps, is the realization that if the professional tries to go it alone this could lead to a professional monopoly for the gradual utilization of processes not unlike those of totalitarian societies.
>
> The second major principle emerging from the new participatory movement concerns the importance of _process_. Communities are no longer accepting the process of something being done _for_ or _to_ them -- even if the product is desirable. Increasingly, the acceptance process is _with_ or _by_ the community, and this includes students as well. This principle is intrinsically tied to the broader self-determination movement embraced by many blacks and other minority groupings.

The views of Fantini on black educational self determination have been resisted by the Detroit court and modified into an "integrated" plan without necessarily negating his "reform" recommendations.

A black school administrator in Detroit in discussing the city's school problems pointed out the following, which in a manner of speaking summarizes Detroit's problems: "The question of relevance as it is supposed to be in the so-called middle class dominated schools is in dispute. Yet at the same time, the people who push that point, and I do, too, know that somewhere along the road, the child is going to have to develop skills which will allow him to interact with the mainstream of society. He is going to have to develop the kind of language that permits him to do that. There is the view where the initial attempt will be to make this institution "relevant" ... and not worry about development of skills until you have accomplished that objective. After that you can get them to transfer -- you can motivate them to develop these skills. Whether this can be successful is to be seen ..."

# A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF DETROIT

## I. Racial Composition and Population Size

Size of metropolitan area 4,250,000 population 1968

Size of the city of Detroit 1,570,000 population 1968

Percent Negro in Metropolitan area 14.7 % (1965)
(non-white)

Percent Negro in Detroit ( non-white)
1950 16.4%
1965 30.2%
1970 (est) 43%
1980 (est) 75%

Negro as Percent of Non-white 98.2%

## II. Racial Distribution

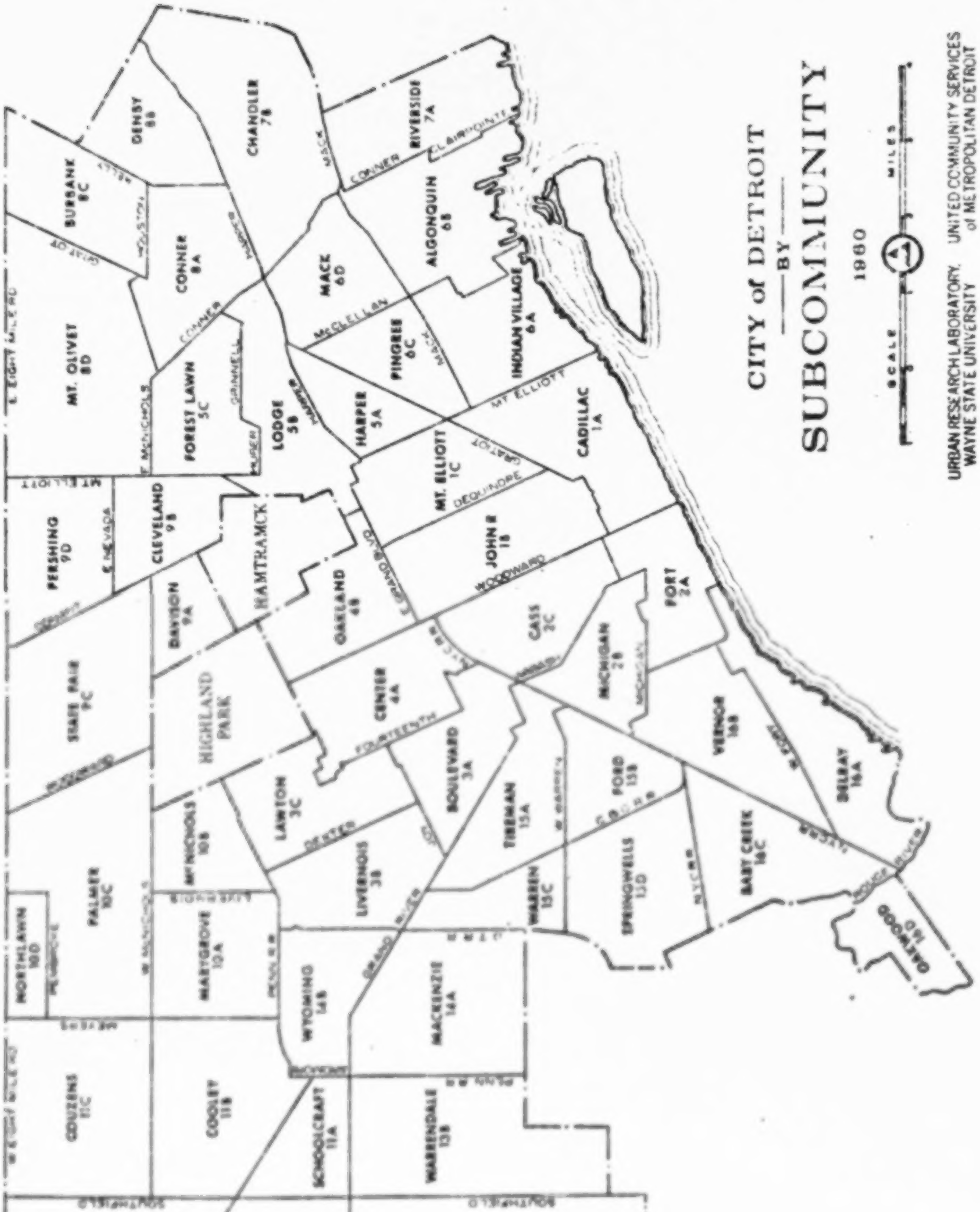
Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 95% Negro (Subcommunity data only)

1965 0
1950 0

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% Negro (70-92%) (subcommunity data only)

1965 85.4%
1950 53.1%

Comments: Most demographic data for Detroit is collected by subcommunity rather than census tract. There are 49 subcommunities, each containing a cluster of census tracts. See attached map showing subcommunity boundaries.


CITY of DETROIT
BY
SUBCOMMUNITY
1960
SCALE
MILES
URBAN RESEARCH LABORATORY, WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES of METROPOLITAN DETROIT
CADILLAC 1A
JOHN R 1B
MT. ELLIOTT 1C
FORT 2A
MICHIGAN 2B
CASS 2C
BOULEVARD 3A
LIVERNOIS 3B
LAWTON 3C
CENTER 4A
OAKLAND 4B
HARPER 5A
LODGE 5B
FOREST LAWN 5C
INDIAN VILLAGE 6A
ALGONQUIN 6B
PINGREE 6C
MACK 6D
RIVERSIDE 7A
CHANDLER 7B
CONNER 8A
DENBY 8B
BURBANK 8C
MT. OLIVET 8D
DAVISON 9A
CLEVELAND 9B
STATE FAIR 9C
PERSHING 9D
MARYGROVE 10A
McNICHOLS 10B
PALMER 10C
NORTHLAWN 10D
SCHOOLCRAFT 11A
COOLEY 11B
COUZENS 11C
BROOKMOOR 12A
REDFORD 12B
PARK 13A
WARRENDALE 13B
SPRINGWELLS 13D
MACKENZIE 14A
WYOMING 14B
TIREMAN 15A
FORD 15B
WARREN 15C
DELRAY 16A
VERNOR 16B
BABY CREEK 16C
OAKWOOD 16D
HAMTRAMCK
HIGHLAND PARK
WOODWARD
GRATIOT
MT ELLIOTT
DEQUINDRE
MACK
CONNER
HARPER
McCLELLAN
CLAIRPOINTE
GRINNELL
E. McNICHOLS
E. EIGHT MILE RD
E. NEVADA
E. GRAND BLVD
FOURTEENTH
DEXTER
JOY
GRAND RIVER
W. McNICHOLS
W. EIGHT MILE RD
SOUTHFIELD
FULLERTON
MICHIGAN
W. WARREN
WYOMING
ROUGE RIVER
W. JEFFERSON
FORT

Most Heavily Negro Social Planning Areas

| District (Subcommunity) | Percent Negro (non-white) | Density* | Median Family Income | % Below Poverty Level ($3000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10D | 89.6 | 33.7 | $6030 | 19 |
| 15A | 91.3 | 57.6 | 5240 | 28.2 |
| 3C | 89.7 | 69.0 | 6460 | 18.2 |
| 1B | 87.8 | 118.1 | 2800 | 53.2 |
| 3B | 78.0 | 59.1 | 6450. | 17.4 |
| 4A | 71.9 | 72.6 | 5480 | 27.6 |
| 10B | 72.7 | 51.6 | 6450 | 17.5 |
| 15C | 71.2 | 49.7 | 5780 | 23.7 |
| 16D | 81.4 | 43.6 | 7240 | 9.9 |
| 3A | 89.5 | 68.0 | 5920 | 23.9 |
| 4B | 92.2 | 71.0 | 4030 | 35.4 |
| 6C | 81.4 | 61.4 | 5570 | 21.5 |

*Density reported is persons per residential acre.

Additional Facts concerning the High Negro Density Areas:
(See attached table for this information)

Median Family Income in year ______________

Size of area ________________

Population ____________________

Number of elementary schools in area ___________________

Delinquency rate ___________________

Population Density _________________

School enrollment ___________________

## ADDITIONAL FACTS CONCERNING THE HIGH NEGRO DENSITY AREAS

| sub-community | 1965 Population | 1960 Housing not in sound condition | number of schools in area | 1969 * school enrollment | 1960 Delinquency rate | Un-employment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | | | % | % |
| 10D | 38,176 | 8.2 | 1 | 458 | 9 | 3.9 |
| 15A | 38,726 | 15.2 | 9 | 7,958 | 15 | 2.9 |
| 3C | 43,480 | 5.7 | 6 | 7,568 | 15 | 1.7 |
| 1B | 26,037 | 43.4 | 9 | 3,641 | 28 | 9.8 |
| 3B | 39,271 | 6.5 | 8 | 6,563 | 16 | 2.1 |
| 4A | 48,529 | 11.4 | 7 | 7,120 | 22 | 2.7 |
| 10B | 21,130 | 10.7 | 2 | 2,398 | 14 | 1.4 |
| 15C | 14,386 | 11.4 | 2 | 2,185 | 11 | .7 |
| 16D | 20,368 | 11.4 | 5 | 3,516 | 5 | 1.1 |
| 3A | 46,687 | 12.4 | 5 | 4,577 | 19 | 2.7 |
| 4B | 28,803 | 32.0 | 8 | 4,388 | 20 | 2.8 |
| 6C | 29,650 | 17.4 | 6 | 6,477 | 16 | 3.1 |
| **Total** | 395,343 | | 68 | 56,849 | | |
| **Mean** | | 16.4 | | | 15.8 | 2.9 |

*Number of schools in area and school enrollment includes elementary and junior high schools.

## CENSUS TRACTS CONTAINED IN EACH SUBCOMMUNITY

| | |
|---|---|
| 10D | 305A, 305B |
| 10B | 170, 171, 172, 173 |
| 15A | 161, 159, 160, 157, 158 |
| 15C | 211, 202, 201, 111, 112 |
| 3C | 176A, 176B, 176C, 176D, 174, 175, 177, 182, 178, 181 |
| 3B | 212, 213, 251, 168, 169, 166, 167, 165, 164 |
| 3A | 179, 180, 154, 155, 18, 19, 21 |
| 1B | 546, 547, 544, 545, 543, 542, 533, 532, 534, 535, 537, 536, 538, 527, 528 |
| 4A | 22, 151, 152, 153, 187, 188, 189, 190, 185, 186, 183, 184, 191 |
| 4B | 553, 554, 555, 556, 552, 551, 557, 558, 559 |
| 16D | 76, 75, 57A, 57B |

Unemployment ______________________

Public Welfare 1964, 75.4% of welfare caseload was Negro

Income Level ______________________

Out of school youth Information not available

III. Poverty Levels

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard see Table

Percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3000

24.6%

Unemployment rates in the City of Detroit:

| Date | Average | Negro (non-white) | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 | 5.1% | 7.3% | 3.9% |
| 1967 | 5.2 | 9.8 | 2.9 |

Comments: Unemployment figures prior to 1967 were not kept by race.

## A PROFILE OF THE DETROIT SCHOOL SYSTEM

### I. Size of the System

Total number of schools 298 date Oct., 1969

No. of elementary schools 223 date Oct., 1969
(includes 14 K-9)

No. of Junior schools 38 date Oct., 1969

No. of Senior High Schools 24 date Oct., 1969

Special schools 13

### II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff and Students

A. Staff

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Negro | 4,879 | 39.6 |
| Negroes in white schools (10 all white schools) | 19 | .4 |
| Negroes in Negro schools (23 all Negro schools) | 415 | 8.5 |
| In elementary schools | 2,925 | 59.9 |
| In Senior High schools | 763 | 15.6 |

Certified personnel (The statistical breakdown for
(Detroit is Instructional vs.
Classroom teachers (non-instructional staff

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.) 27:1

″ (sec.) 25:1

Mean years experience (teachers) 10.5

% first year teachers 16.3

% non-degree not available

% B.A. (or less) 67.5

% M.A. 27.3

% M.A. plus 5.2

Note: All figures given for teachers should read instructional staff.

Salary - minimum (Bach) $7616.
maximum (Bach) $12,436.
(Salary is for 39 weeks)

B. Students

Negro enrollment in Public schools:

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1961 | 130,765 | 45.8 |
| 1963 | 150,565 | 51.3 |
| 1964 | 155,852 | 53.0 |
| 1965 | 161,487 | 54.8 |
| 1966 | 168,299 | 56.7 |
| 1967 | 171,707 | 58.2 |
| 1968 | 175,474 | 59.4 |
| 1969 | 180,630 | 61.5 |

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools: (including junior high schools)

| Year | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| 1964 | 3,576 | 2.3 |
| 1965 | 5,912 | 3.6 |
| 1968 | 15,031 | 8.6 |
| 1969 | 14,400 | 11.0 |

Comments: Under Negro enrollment the figure is for public schools which includes Junior High and High School. Figures for segregated schools include elementary and junior high. Segregated schools has been interpreted as schools which are all Negro.

Student Performance

| Test Score (date: Oct., 1968) (Standardized) | Schools 95-100% Negro | White |
|---|---|---|
| Iowa Test of Basic Skills | | |
| Grade 2 - not administered | -- | -- |
| Grade 4 | 3.1 | 3.9 |
| Grade 6 | 4.8 | 5.7 |
| Grade 8 | 6.0* | 8.5* |

*These scores based on only two schools.

Stanford Reading Achievement

| | |
|---|---|
| End of 3rd Year<br>End of 6th Year | Standardized reading tests are not regularly administered. No scores were available. |

C. School Board

Method of Selection: There are 7 members of the school board elected for a 4-year term in a non-partisan, at-large election.

Number of Negroes on School Board: Three. A. Perdue, Rev. D. Stewart, Dr. R. Robinson.

Members of the Detroit Board of Education:

J. Hathaway
P. Gryllis
A. Zwerdling
P. McDonald
A. Perdue
Dr. R. Robinson
D. Stewart

## BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR DETROIT

Achievement Test Scores of Pupils in Detroit Public Schools, Department of Research and Development, Detroit Public Schools, July, 1969.

Racial-Ethnic Distribution of Students and Employees in Detroit Public Schools, Department of Intergroup Relations, Detroit Public Schools, October, 1969. October 1968. October 1967.

Neighborhood Youth Information, Detroit Commission on Children and Youth, Winter 1965.

A Profile of Southeastern Michigan, Detroit Region Transportation and Land Use Study, August, 1968.

Population and Occupied Dwelling Units in Detroit Region, South East Michigan Council of Governments, May 1969.

The Non-White Population of Metropolitan Detroit, United Community Services, Research Department, 1965.

A Profile of the Detroit Negro 1959-1964, Detroit Urban League, Research Department, June 1965.

Residential Densities Table by 1960 Census Tract, City of Detroit, City Plan Commission, Research Division, April, 1966.

Information was also obtained from the following sources:

Department of Statistical Reporting, Detroit Board of Education

Department of Research and Statistics, Michigan Employment and Securities Commission.

City Plan Commission

Transportation and Land Use Study (TALUS)

ECHO Study, Department of Health

# CHAPTER 8

# CHICAGO: CONTROLLED ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION IN AN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

## Demographic and Educational Characteristics

The city of Chicago with its population of 3,351,500 has, as of 1970, about one-third of its population or 32% Negro. It is expected that by 1980 this percentage will grow to 41%. At the same time, the facial distribution of population has been undergoing some geographic shifting. City tracts which were 95% Negro lost population between 1950 and 1965, while tracts which were less dense (70% Negro) gained Negro population in the same period.

Many of the areas with a high percentage of Negro residents have high percentages on a poverty level. Of the 15 Social Planning Areas of the city in 1966, there is data available for seven. These seven areas report the percentage below poverty level as ranging from 20 to 42%. Three of these areas has 40% or more of their population below the poverty level. Eight of the fifteen areas had a median family income ranging from $5000. to $6000. One area had a median family income of less than $4000. The percentage of families in Negro areas with incomes below $3000. was 30% (1966). In 1968 the white unemployment rate was about 3%. In a study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, that it regards as fairly representative for all poor Negro areas based on a sample of 117,000, it found an unemployment rate of about 9 per cent.

The city school system had, in 1969, a total of 536 schools, of which 470 were elementary and 57 senior high schools. These schools contain over 570,000 pupils. The elementary school population totaled nearly 430,000 and there were more than 140,000 in the secondary schools. In addition, during the summer of 1966 over 120,000 were enrolled in various educational programs. About 243,000 (56%) of these students come from the highly dense Negro areas. Ninety per cent of these Negro students are in segregated elementary schools. The total Negro teaching staff, including assistant principals, numbers 7844 or 34%.

The administrative staff has 633 Negroes, Or 25 per cent. One hundred per cent of the staff have B.A.'s while 25% of these have their M.A.'s.

The total budget approved for the calendar year 1967 was approximately $418 million. There are about 515 schools and 99 branches. Of these, there are 57 high schools with 32 branches and 458 elementary schools with 67 branches. In the past 5 years, nearly 2,000 classrooms have been added as a result of opening 33 new school buildings, modifying existing facilities and rehabilitating 14 buildings. There are now over 17,000 classrooms available. The school system employs about 34,000 people of which number teachers, principals, supervisors, and superintendents are approximately 23,500.

A basic educational problem Chicago has in common with other urban areas is revealed by the test scores. City-wide, 52 per cent of the entering pupils scored as "ready for school" in contrast to 69 per cent of the norm group. The first test of school learning ability, the Kuhlmann-Anderson Intelligence Test, is administered in the middle of the same year. The city-wide group median was at the 54th percentile.

In the tests administered to pre-fourth grade, sixth grade and eighth grade pupils, the following were the city-wide median percentile ranks for the grade level indicated:

| Grade | SLA | Reading | Arithmetic Computation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-4 | 37 | 34 | 45 |
| 6 | 38 | 29 | 35 |
| 8 | 38 | 38 | 28 |

The achievement tests used in all instances are different levels of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests. The Kuhlmann-Anderson Intelligence Test is used in the pre-fourth grade testing and the California Test of Mental Maturity, Short Form is used in sixth and eighth grades.

The school system's planning department has estimated that student enrollment will increase by about 35,000 to 605,000 by 1971. The School Board has been desirous of reducing the size of individual classes, but at the same time, it must provide a program to increase facilities and increase the teaching staff and to enlarge its funds. The increase in student enrollment will, however, bring other demands on the system's educational and administrative structure. The shifting population in the various sections of the city create a need to revise attendance units and balance the educational workload. The result is, that as these changes occur, educational programs need to be modified to express the variety of needs of the local student population. The result is that there is a continuing necessity to explore new educational concepts such as educational parks and comprehensive high schools; a demand and a necessity that is cumbersome in as huge a centralized bureaucracy as that of the Chicago educational system.

School System Organizational Changes

The organization survey of 1967 resulted in adopting a plan for the decentralization of the Chicago school system. This decentralization plan carried with it the concept of moving a great deal of responsibility to the "field", and to the lowest organizational levels considered practical.

The plan gave the Board the responsibility for setting policy, for examining major issues facing the school system, and for considering recommendations made by the general superintendent. It delegated responsibility for administration and operations to the general superintendent and through him to the school system personnel. The Board's primary function was to be that of review and approval of plans and policies for the school system.

The general superintendent's role was defined as one of being responsible for the educational program, developing facility plans to fit the educational requirements and establishing financial programs to support the educational and facility programs. He also was given the responsibility of assessing how effectively programs and facilities were meeting the objectives of the system and introduce changes that were appropriate. The Superintendent also was made responsible for the effectiveness of the school system's employees, and for school system's relationships with citizen groups and agencies of the city, state and federal government.

The organization survey followed up the definitions of the general superintendent's functions by establishing a system of staff support that he would require. The staff support given him under this framework consisted of a planning arm, an evaluative branch, direct support in the community and human relations areas on system wide matters, and general administrative assistance. In essence, this staff support provides a core of the central bureaucracy at the city's school system headquarters. These functions and the staff required to carry them out deal with developing integrated plans for educational programs, facilities, finances, an operations analysis group to evaluate the effectiveness of educational and administrative programs, a community relations group, a human relations department, a deputy superintendent and administrative assistants.

The rationale for the central office was to be that functions which are system wide in nature and which are highly specialized or, which for cost reasons, need to be handled centrally would make up the central office organization. The concept used was that these are functions which can be performed most effectively at this level without impairing, it was thought, the administrative authority and prerogatives of the new decentralized field organization.

### Decentralized Administrative Areas

As a result of the organization survey, a plan was adopted for dividing the city into three major areas, each headed by an associate superintendent. The plan did not rule out the possibility of expanding the number of areas to four or five if this was found to advance the educational administrative effectiveness of the school system. The principle on which the subdivisions were made was a geographic one which would establish a balanced work load for each of the areas. The two main factors in balancing the load that were used were (1) size, measured in terms of number of students in schools and (2) socio-economic characteristics.

The associate superintendent in charge of each area in effect became the general superintendent of a sizeable school operation. He was given direct line of communication to the deputy superintendent of schools and his field office was given the authority to administer the educational program of the system in his area. He was also given an adequate organization to carry out the program for the area. His responsibilities involved the preparation and administration of his area budget and the assignment and transfer of personnel within existing guidelines. However, central headquarters retained the function of recruiting personnel for the entire system.

The organization and composition of the area organization included the present central office staff groups which operate in the field and all their functions. The area associate superintendent had assigned to him the district superintendents for his area who were to seve as "assistant area associate superintendents" with responsibility for a group of elementary and secondary schools. Area staff personnel were to be distributed among the districts, but they would not exercise line authority over the school principals. Line authority responsibility would be part of the role of the area associate superintendent and district superintendents. Area staff personnel would receive functional guidance from their counterparts on the central office staffs. Services that are required in the schools, the plan indicated, would be provided by personnel on the staff of the area associate superintendent. These personnel work throughout the area or in specific districts depending on the need.

The introduction and the implementation of this system of administrative decentralization has brought about a first step as the school system indicated, towards a decentralized system. However, it remains a long way from a system of decentralization which would allow greater contact, communication and participation by local communities. The huge school system and its centralized bureaucracy remain very much in evidence. The result in dissatisfaction on the part of those who were demanding decentralization, on the one hand, and dissatisfaction on the part of many members of the school system in making this cumbersome system operate effectively. Area associate superintendents are often accused of being only low level area managers who must turn for all important decisions to central headquarters. The retention of many functions at central headquarters enhances this view of the new system on the part of many community leaders, especially the activists and the militants. This latter group will, however, never be satisfied until the school system is broken down to a multitude of small autonomous school districts. The school board resists moving in this direction and the demands of the militants are not reinforced by any concrete evidence that a multitude of autonomous small school districts would solve the problems of education in Chicago. Nor do these advocates have a plan which would make such a completely decentralized system operate in terms of the vast fiscal and tax problems, let alone the administrative and educational problems.

Central school headquarters is more interested in community involvement than in community control. They see their problems as making the system work more effectively. They find that some of the principals and lower level superintendents are using the facilities and resources that they have effectively. Within the present framework, they state, the community can look at the school and state their criticisms and priorities. As far as textbooks are concerned, principals can state what are needed, but there are limits within the framework of professional suggestions. The principal can bring in experts to help them with educational review and research, and he can go to the Board of Education for assistance. Central headquarters sees community involvement as desirable in the selection of principals.

### Decentralized Area A, South Side

Area A is one of the three decentralized areas of the city. It has more blacks than any other area, about 75-80% of its population. It has nine districts, some of which are 95-100% black. Each district within it has a district superintendent with a school system from K through 12. Area A has its own budget, personnel department, and system of facilities.

The area superintendent decides on all personnel from assistant principals and up. The Department of Personnel at central headquarters decides on all teaching appointments. It also decides on the city wide teacher/pupil ratio of 34 pupils per teacher, however, the area superintendent can make some exceptions. The area superintendent also appoints substitutes from within his own personnel list.

The area superintendent is assisted by five directors who have many of the duties of central headquarters staff people. He has a fiscal and budget officer, and he conducts relations with parent groups. Area A has within it 190 schools including 16 high schools. These have 190,000 pupils and 6800 teachers. Forty per cent of the teachers are black. The area superintendent has available to him curriculum services and consultants in the areas of home economics, art and music, physical education, modern math, and industrial arts studies. These consultants teach the teachers new techniques and ideas. Their job is to stay on top of developments in these fields.

A real effort is being made to develop independence and decision-making abilities on the part of principals. They are free to use curriculum guides as they wish. The principal is the teaching leader and a good principal can operate with a great deal of freedom. The principal does have limitations on him with respect to the financial budget.

### The Woodlawn District

Four pastors in the community were deeply concerned about the conditions of Woodlawn in the late fifties. They, with the help of liberal elements in the area, began the Woodlawn organization. These elements drew up a statement which found that " (1) the Woodlawn community as a whole was not represented by any one organization; (2) that blight, overcrowding of residential buildings, transiency, crime and social disorganization was dangerously on the increase; (3) that this community deterioration began slowly during the Depression of the Thirties and was sharply accelerated by the housing shortage during World War II and was intensified by post war inflation coupled with rent control; and (4) that racial change in the community began around 1949-50 and within 6 years the population became some 90% non-white."

The new organization received assistance to the extent of $50,000. from the Catholic Church. The Schwartzhaupt Foundation contributed $69,000. and $21,000. came from the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago. The Industrial Areas Foundation served as a means of encouraging the contribution of funds to the Woodlawn organization. The Woodlawn organization, in addition to attacking unfair business practices and conducting rent strikes,was very much concerned with community school problems. They saw the importance of the school to them as making the community a desirable place to live in, by providing good education in local schools.

The first concern was that schools in the ghetto are an abysmal failure. They were very much concerned with the views of school people that the slum child was uneducable and that they were throwing their failures on the back of the parents. They disagreed strongly that since the children come from underprivileged homes where there are no books, that this was the fundamental problem of schooling. They placed these views within a framework that the whole educational system was designed to meet the needs of the white middle class child who comes out of an environment where there are books and educated parents, and where even the language spoken is significantly different from that of the slum child. They adopted the view that the educational system must devise new approaches to education just as education devised new approaches to teaching the hard of hearing and the blind.

They advanced the view that the curriculum was foreign to the ghetto child. The middle class first readers, they stated, present statements such as "See the cow. See the beautiful grass," and that such statements were not oriented toward the reality of the ghetto child. Such a child finds it very hard to relate to Dick and Jane in a small town with beautiful lawns, tricycles, and the friendly corner policeman. They saw the "Dick and Jane" representing the white society as a threat to the survival of black children. They consider the new readers as only slightly better. These readers feature urban life and black as well as white characters, but they state that they still fail to reach ghetto children. They view the compensatory program such as Upward Bound and Headstart as failures in that they are not changing the educational system itself. They claim that as soon as the child is out of that temporary phase of compensatory education and back in the system, he loses within a year or two, whatever he had learned. They demanded that meaningful experimentation must go on in the school system and that this experimentation can involve the whole community. They also demanded that the organized community should have some voice in the choosing of a principal in that school. They presented the view that a man may be well qualified academically and administratively to run a middle class white school, however, they claim that his psychological point of view toward black children and the black community might make him unqualified in the ghetto.

## The Woodlawn Urban Education Development Project

The Woodlawn organization, the Chicago public schools and the University of Chicago decided to establish a cooperative educational venture. In order to carry out their goals, they developed a project proposal to the U.S. Office of Education. After lengthy negotiations, they received a grant of $70,000. from the U.S. Office of Education. The objectives for this project were as follows: "The Woodlawn organization is primarily interested in building leadership for the redevelopment of the community and in changing the basic educational program and the allocation of resources so that the educational system will be geared to the needs of the youth and the community." The staff was concerned with providing an assessment of the problems including the perceptions and opinions of persons in the schools, in the neighborhood and on the university campus. This was done by interviews with children, parents, teachers and school staff members in addition to principals of three elementary schools, one upper grade center and one high school. The assessment uncovered many programs which they considered promising. The problems they found and learned, however, were overwhelming and the means for dealing with them insufficient. They found that there was a great need for more qualified adults to work with the children. They learned that the teachers needed more help in the classrooms from specialists than they were getting. They found that administrative decisions were often made without consulting the people in the schools whom the decisions would affect. They found also that conditions in the home and the community were detrimental to school learning. The presence of gangs in the community was found to be a major detriment to learning. They found some parents apathetic and hostile toward the schools. These parents criticized principals and teachers for lack of interest in the ghetto child and in the parent, and indicated that their value orientations were much different than that of the teachers. They found poor discipline in the classroom and teachers reported that the children often came to them inadequately prepared for reading, speaking and listening, making it impossible for them to perform at the required grade level. The City Board of Education accepted the recommendations of the Project Staff to retain a tripartite collaborative administrative structure for the Woodlawn Community Board and the staff to be free to work out a detailed proposal for the program in the experimental schools. A formula was developed whereby the Woodlawn School District would, in essence, be an autonomous district governed by the Woodlawn Community Board, and together they developed a proposal for an experimental school district, for Woodlawn and Tttle III funding.

The Woodlawn Community Board was established with 21 members, four of them from the University of Chicago, ten from the community and seven from the Board of Education. The Board came into existence on July 1, 1968 in the administrative decentralized system which the Board established for the city. Under this system, recommendations come up from the staff members in various areas and also from the Woodlawn Community Board, and these recommendations go to the central Board of Education and if and when approved, (and all so far have been approved) then they are submitted to the school staff and administrative personnel for implementation.

Thus far the Woodlawn Community Board has recommended that black architects be used and that black union people be used in construction of facilities, and this has been approved. The Board has also recommended that black literature be introduced into a number of courses and that a number of course recommendations that were made by the staff be approved; this was subsequently approved by the central Board of Education. The Woodlawn Board also asked for changes in curriculum, which were subsequently approved. Thus far the staff is developing some new literature for these recommended courses.

The experimental school project director believes that it is extremely important that local people be involved in given issues and that they be free to make their own decisions. The project director also believes that these people should be free to make their own mistakes and to introduce the improvements that they wish. The project director claims that if this were always the case, that community people would make few mistakes, and certainly fewer mistakes than have been made in the past by others and their achievement of success will inevitably be high.

The Project Director, however, advances the view that the fundamental controls of decision-making for the school system and in particular for the Woodlawn area, rests in the hands of the real estate people who control the city's Board of Education. Her view is that these individuals who own and represent the owners of property in the city make fundamental decisions for the populous people of the city. As long as this continues the Woodlawn School Project will not have the autonomy that it needs and desires and therefore will not be able to accomplish or achieve its goals.

The Woodlawn Project began with a director of research under the Project Director to develop an assessment over the three year life of the project. At the end of two years when the Project Director was asked about the achievements of the project, her response was that it was difficult to indicate at that point in time, the results of the experiment; but that at the end of three years, results would be reported. However, at the same time, she did report that there were many difficulties but was hopeful about the results. In the course of this study, it was learned the research director was no longer on the project or carrying out the assessment. This was learned accidentally from the University of Chicago faculty members who are members of the tripartite Woodlawn organization. It therefore means that no assessment report can be expected from the Woodlawn project at the end of its three years of experimental existence.

Chicago has taken small steps towards decentralization, it however, remains a large cumbersome bureaucratic system. It is even taking steps towards experimenting with autonomous sub-districts as in the case of the Woodlawn project. The Woodlawn Project, however, is proving not to be a helpful venture in the direction of the concepts about school decentralization. The Project's problems, difficulties and failures have led to verbose verbalizations about barriers existing in some large fundamental social system of a tenuous ideological character. The failure to realize the factors stressed in the Coleman Report and in the sociological and social psychological literature about the fundamental importance of the family, of the community and of pupil peers has led the Woodlawn Project leaders into vast expectations as to what could be accomplished by changes in school personnel and changes in classroom materials and school and community leaders. These failures have not led to the recognition of the importance of family, community and school but rather to the erection of new theologies about the barriers to educational achievement of their children. The centralized bureaucracy of both the school system and the professionals in it continue to dominate the school system and while various types of experiments and small changes occur, and will continue to occur, the hoped for changes in improving the overall school system continue to lag.

# A PROFILE OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

## I. Racial Composition and Population Size

Size of metropolitan area Cook Country: 5,449,000; Chicago, SMSA: 6,845,000 (April, 1968)

Size of the city of Chicago 3,351,500 (January 16, 1970)

Percent of Negro in Metropolitan Area 16.7%

Percent Negro in Chicago 1950 13.6%

1965 26.7%

1970 (est) 31.9%

1980 (est) 41.0%

Negro as Percent of Non-white 97.0%

## II. Racial Distribution

Proportion of Negro population in tracts[1] with 95% Negro[2]

1965 32.1%

1950 50.0%

Proportion of Negro population in tracts with 70% Negro[3]

1965 39.7%

1950 5.5%

Comments:

[1] These data were compiled on the basis of Chicago community areas each of which encompasses several census tracts; these areas are quite homogeneous in racial composition.

[2] 95% - 100% Negro

[3] 70% - 95% Negro

### Most Heavily Negro Planning Areas (April 1966)
(greater than 70% Negro)

| District | Percent Negro | Density | Median Family Income | % Below Poverty Level[2] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| East Garfield Park | 86.8% | 32,563/sqm | $5260 | not available |
| West Garfield Park[1] | 66.1 | 33,204/sqm | 5670 | not available |
| North Lawndale | 94.3 | 34,677/sqm | 5670 | 31% |
| Douglas | 88.7 | 30,279/sqm | 5752 | 42% |
| Douglas B[3] | 96.1 | | | |
| Oakland | 97.8 | 44,964/sqm | 4050 | 27% |
| Fuller Park | 97.2 | 14,568/sqm | 5180 | not available |
| Grand Boulevard | 99.0 | 47,399/sqm | 5100 | 20% |
| Kenwood[4] | 82.5 | 36,377/sqm | 8240/6440 | 26.1% |
| Washington Park | 98.9 | 28,378/sqm | 5990 | not available |
| Woodlawn | 97.7 | 36,330/sqm | 5508 | 41% |
| Chatham[5] | 87.6 | 15,356/sqm | 8420 | not available |
| Riverdale | 86.4 | 3,228/sqm | 3810 | 40% |
| Englewood | 82.3 | 29,840/sqm | 6080 | not available |
| Greater Grand Crossing[5] | 96.4 | 17,091/sqm | 7130 | not available |

---

[1] This area was included because migration patterns indicate that this area now has a Negro population substantially greater than 70%; an area (Near South Side) has been excluded which is now believed to be below 70% though it was above that figure in April, 1966.

[2] These are percentage estimates from a sample of residents in public housing in the respective community areas taken from the 1968 proposal of the Chicago Model Cities Planning Commission. These are the only data available on families below poverty level (since the 1960 census) and are not too reliable.

[3] The Douglas area was subdivided into a lake shore strip and an inland strip. The lake shore strip is an integrated area of middle income level families living in high-rise apartments. The inland area is segregated Negro. Douglas B represents the inland area. Douglas is the entire area, the median figure weighted for population. Douglas B families have a median income of $4600 per year. The source did not give a geographic base for his subdivision, which is not a standard one.

[4] The two figures for median income for a lake and inland strip with the remarks above generally applying. No geographic or population base is given for subdivision.

[5] Middle income level Negro areas, % below poverty level probably not far from city average.

Additional Facts concerning the High Negro Density Areas:

Median Family income in year $5885 (1966)

Size of area 29,028 square miles (1960)

Population 765,423 (1966)

Number of elementary schools in area 199[1]

Delinquency rate only available in aggregated form by six large districts with heavy concentration of white population

Population Density 26,368/sqm inc. Riverdale; 29,644 exc. Riverdale

School Enrollment 294,181[1]

Unemployment 8.6% (6/68-6/69)[2]

Public Welfare Active Caseload - payment cases, 78,046

Estimated Number of Persons Receiving Aid - 219,209

Income Level $5885 (1966)

Out of School Youth not available

III. Poverty Levels

Percentage of housing in Negro areas substandard not available

Percentage of families in Negro area with incomes below $3000

29.8% (1966)[3]

Unemployment rates in the City of Chicago

| Date | Average | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 ('69 not yet available) | 3.8% | 7.4% | 2.7% |

Comments:

[1] School districts are not congruent with community areas. These figures are for schools with greater than 70% Negro enrollment.

[2] This figure is from a study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in a concentrated employment program area in the Chicago community areas of East and West Gardield, North Lqwndale and parts of the near west side (sample = 117,000). It should be a fairly representative figure for all poor Negro areas listed.

[3] For all Negro families; data not available by community area.

## A PROFILE OF THE CHICAGO SCHOOL SYSTEM

### I. Size of the System

Total number of schools 536 inc. special schools date September, 1969

No. of elementary schools 470 date September, 1969

No. of Junior schools none date

No. of Senior High Schools 57 date September, 1969

### II. Racial Composition and Distribution of Staff and Students

A. Staff (September, 1969)

| | | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negro | Administrative Staff | 633 | 25.1 |
| | Teachers incl asst. princ. | 7844 | 34.0 |

| | White | 50-90% Negro | 90-100% |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negroes in white schools)<br>)<br>Negroes in Negro schools) | 448 (5.7%) | 549 (7.0%) | 6839 (87.3%) |

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| In elementary schools | 5962 | 36.9 |
| In Senior High schools | 1883 | 27.3 |
| Certified personnel<br>(includes specially funded positions -- averages 1300 per month) | 16,311 | 67.6[1] |
| Classroom teachers | 23,079 (exc. specially funded pos.) | |

Ratio pupils/teachers (elem.)[2] 26.9: 1

(sec.)[2] 21.1: 1

Mean years experience (teachers) 5 years[3]

% first year teachers 9.5%

% non-degree none[3]

% B.A. 100%[3]

% M.A. 25%[3]

---

[1] among all teachers; data on certified personnel are not available by race.

[2] These figures are deceptively low. Counselors and assistant principals who do not teach are nevertheless counted as teachers. An independent oral communication gave the ratios as follows: elem: 34.5:1; sec: 23.9:1.

[3] by oral communication. The Board of Educ. refused to allow examination of its records.

Salary - minimum (Bach) $8000 + ten days paid vacation

maximum (Bach) $12,750 + ten days paid vacation

B. Students

Negro enrollment in elementary schools:

| Year | No. | % of total city enrollment |
|---|---|---|
| September 26, 1969 | 242,763 | 55.9 |

Number of Negroes in Segregated Elementary Schools: 90-100% Negro

| Year | No. | % of Negro elementary enrollment |
|---|---|---|
| September 26, 1969 | 217,320 | 89.6 |

Comments:

Student Performance

| Test Score (date: )<br>(Standardized) | Schools 95-100%<br>Negro | White |
|---|---|---|
| Grade 2 | | |
| Grade 4 | | |
| Grade 6 | | |
| Grade 8 | See: "Report of the 1968-69 City-Wide Testing Program", Chicago Public Schools, Board of Education, City of Chicago, 1969. | |
| Stanford Reading Achievement | | |
| End of 3rd Year | | |
| End of 6th Year | | |

C. School Board

Method of selection: Members are appointed by the mayor of the city of Chicago. The mayor selects from nominations made by the City Commission on School Board Nominations. However this commission has no legal status and the mayor can by-pass its recommendations.

Number of Negroes on School Board: 3(out of a total of 11).

Members of the Chicago Board of ?Education

Mrs. David Certa

Alvin J. Boutte

Warren H. Bacon

Thomas J. Murrary

Frank M. Whiston

Bernard S. Friedman

Mrs. W. Lydon Wild

Mrs. Carey B. Preston

John D. Carey

Mrs. Louis A. Malis

Jack Witkowsky

## Bibliography on Chicago

Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board, 1968-69.*

______________, *Report of the 1968-69 City-Wide Testing Program*, December, 1969.

Bureau of Research, Development and Special Projects, *Directory of the Chicago Public Schools* 1969, Board of Education of City of Chicago.

______________, Facts and Figures 1968-69, Board of Education of the City of Chicago.

______________, *Racial Headcount of Staff* (unpublished).

______________, *Racial Headcount of Students* (unpublished).

Chicago Police Department, *Chicago Police Annual Report 1968* 1969, Chicago Police Department.

Cook County Department of Public Aid, Public Assistance Division, *Analysis of Grants* 1969 (unpublished).

de Vise, Pierre, *Chicago's Widening Color Gap* 1967, Interuniversity Social Research Committee, Chicago.

Hospital Planning Council for Metropolitan Chicago, *Population Estimates for Municipalities and Counties in the Chicago Consolidated Area: 1965 and 1966.* December, 1966, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry (unpublished).

Hospital Planning Council for Metropolitan Chicago, *Population Estimates for Municipalities and Counties in the Chicago Consolidated Area: 1967 and 1968.* July, 1968, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry (unpublished).

Hospital Planning Council for Metropolitan Chicago, *Population Estimates for Municipalities and Counties in the Chicago Consolidated Area: 1969* January, 1970, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry (unpublished).

Kitagawa, Evelyn and Hauser, Phillip, ed., *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1950.* Community Renewal Program Study, Chicago.

Kitagawa, Evelyn and Taeuber, Karl, ed., *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960.* 1963, Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Model Cities Planning Commission, Proposal for Chicago Model Cities Program (unpublished).

U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force March, 1969 (vol. 15 No. 9), Bureau of Labor Statistics (U.S. Government Printing Office). Washington.

___________________, Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force January, 1970 (vol. 16 No. 7), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.

___________________, Employment Situation in Poverty Areas of Six Cities October, 1969, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington (unpublished).

# CHAPTER 9

# RESEARCH ON DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

The concern about decentralization and community control in all of the eight cities discussed in this report arises out of the fundamental interest in bringing about more effective education and improvements in the public school system in these cities and especially in their central urban ghetto areas. Underlying these concerns is the interest in bringing about equalization of educational opportunities for all of the pupils in all of these cities. It is part of the American dream of equality. The school system is seen as the major social system for bringing about this equality. The most recent immigrant to the city, the American Negro, has come to view the city school system as the most efficacious means for realizing equality not only of education, but also of realizing educational quality as a means to economic equality. Decentralization and community control have been proposed as the most recent set of answers to revitalizing, renewing, and spurring the public educational system on to new levels of achievement.

Will decentralization and community control change teachers, change teaching, change learning on the part of pupils and bring about the dreamt of quality education for urban children to equal the assumed quality education of suburban children? Will decentralization and community control change the attitudes toward education on the part of parents, children, teachers, and school administrators? Will decentralization and community control alter the academic performance of pupils and the expectations about pupil performance? Will decentralization and community control alter the interest, concern and participation of parents in school affairs and their children's school performance? Will decentralization and community control have an impact on community confusion and flower into a concerned and enlightened leadership on the part of parents in leading their schools to new high levels of performance? Will decentralization and community control affect the morale of ghetto communities, alter the children's self image, and change their self-conceptions about fate control? Will decentralization and community control change the perceptive systems of all those involved -- teachers, pupils, parents, community leaders -- in such a way that it will lead to a creative and cohesive effort and will express itself in not only a high level of participation in community affairs, but a new high level of school performance and achievement on the part of the children involved? Will decentraliaation and community control break down the barriers to rapid and effective educational mobility on the part of ghetto children and enable them to enter the occupational system in at least numbers equal to their proportion in the population at large?

These questions are at the base of the assumptions made about educational change in the cities which have been discussed in this report. Notwithstanding the claims made and the ensuing conflicts, the questions mentioned remain only questions and their implied assumptions remain assumptions. Very little research has been done and very little research is being done with respect to these issues. However, before we can turn systematically to the research questions involved, it is necessary to quickly summarize the character of the urban educational systems discussed in this report so that the implied research questions can be related.

## Types of School Systems in Response To Social Movements for Decentralization and Community Control

The selected cities in this study may be viewed as being on a continuum from a possibility of developing an integrated social system within the urban community to the opposite end of the continuum where no such possibility exists. Another way of looking at the continuum for these cities is to express it as follows: a city (Boston) at one end within which there remains sufficient flexibility in movement for change which includes the participation of all elements of the community, to the other end of the continuum where these factors of flexibility are not present (Oakland) and in which the divisions created by especially race emphasize both a status quo within the community and within the school system. Another way of examining this continuum is to describe it as at one end of the continuum a city with a relatively low percentage of Negro population and, at the other end, a city with a fairly high percentage of Negroes. The examination of the continuum begins with the city of Boston:

### 1. Boston

Boston is a city with a low percentage of Negores. However, it has, over the past few years, been concentrating on discussions and movements towards decentralization and community control. Decentralization and community control has moved towards importance and towards State bills along these lines out of the rise of ideological movements which stress the concepts of decentralization and community control rather than out of the demographic and social characteristics of the city. Because of its basic urban characteristics there remains a small chance that Boston will choose the path of school integration and community integration rather than decentralization.

### 2. Cleveland

Cleveland is a city with a high percentage of Negro population. This Negro population is highly concentrated in segregated areas of the city. However, the ideology of decentralization and community control and the social movements which express it do not have the dynamic impetus that is found in other cities. The school system, therefore, has moved more in the direction of administrative decentralization with a great deal of school principal autonomy rather than in the direction of decentralization and community control.

### 3. Washington, D.C.

This is a city with a very high proportion of its population Negro, who are highly concentrated in a large number of segregated areas. It is a city with a very high proportion of its school population being Negro. The School Board and the school system which also has high proportions of Negro members in it has been less concerned with decentralization and community control and more concerned with its problems of improving the system as a whole. However, it has moved experimentally to the establishment of an experimental decentralized school project involving two schools. It has endowed the decentralized school project with a good deal of autonomy, but has retained the final legal authority with regard to these schools.

4. Chicago

This vast city, with its enormous school system, has taken small steps towards administrative decentralization. In establishing threefold decentralized school system, it placed most of the city's Negro population in one of the three districts. In doing this, they have created a school system that is still highly centralized but has both the appearance and the flexibility of some degree of decentralization on a very extensive basis. It has also permitted a small and vocal district in the area which contains the most of the city's Negro population to experiment with a high degree of autonomy. The city of Chicago falls somewhere in the middle of the continuum of cities which run from possibilities and characteristics of an integrated system to the other end of the continuum where such possibilities are absent.

5. Philadelphia

Philadelphia has been experimenting with partial administrative decentralization and has been utilizing large numbers of experimental projects in different parts of the city to give the city school system some degree of flexibility. There is some pressure for school decentralization and community control on the part of some segments of the community, however, these very same segments are more interested in performance and achievement levels than in the pure ideology of decentralization and community control.

6. Detroit

Detroit has strong ideological movements towards decentralization and community control. It has been expressed in political efforts in the city and the state. These efforts have resulted in state law which has recently been overruled and now Detroit is experimenting with the concept of magnet schools. The pressures for racial subdivisions along segregated lines are powerful in this city and the chances for separatism are much stronger than the chances for integration which is assumed in the concept of the magnet schools.

7. Los Angeles

This city has moved towards partial administrative decentralization. It operates in a school system with community advisory committees. It has a very capable and active administration which has been fostering a variety of school community projects in various parts of the city. There are a number of conflicting ideological movements both in the direction of racially and ethnic separatistic subdivisions and efforts and movements for integration. Legal attempts have been made to establish decentralization and community control with court barriers to this. The chances for integration are low and the chances for separatism without the implementation of decentralization and community control high.

8. Oakland

This is a city not in motion. This is a city in which the social system of the status quo is uppermost. This is a city where separatism is deep, and emotions are high. This is a city with strong movements towards decentralization and community control, but at the same time, strong movements opposing this. The result is an equilibrium which maintains the status quo with ineffective leadership on both sides and deep emotion pervading the entire urban atmosphere.

## Assumptions About Decentralization

It is necessary to select out the key assumptions about decentralization and to develop research which would test them, and thereby enable us to go back to these cities and to others with the findings from this research and translate them into developmental changes within these cities. The following basic assumptions about decentralization are detailed and the research involved described as follows:

1. Assumption That Decentralization Will Energize the School System By Redistributing Power Within It.

Let us examine further a subdivision of the Chicago School System such as the Woodlawn School District. Let us establish a research project whose purpose it would be to induce the Chicago School System to create in Woodlawn the utmost autonomy. Let this be done by obtaining a statement from the school people and community leaders in Woodlawn as to all of the autonomy demands that they can think of. Such a project should be established for at least a three year period and sufficient resources supplied to the community and school leaders for conducting the school affairs of their autonomous school district. At the same time, establish a research assessment project with the cooperation of the school district leaders to assess to changes accomplished by the provision and the granting of power as defined by the local community and given to them. At the same time, select a comparable area in a city like Philadelphia in which a similar project is set up and is established in a partially administrative decentralized system. A similar project in terms of educational changes and their measurement differing, however, in that it is not an autonomous school district with its own powers to make decisions, but that it is a project guided' and directed to a large extent from central school headquarters.

Each project should operate at a level from $30,000. to $40,000. a year for a three year period and the cost would be about $180,000. to $240,000. for the entire study.

2. The Assumption That the Most Powerful Energy Source is That of Parents and the Community At Large.

The project on power should include the testing of this assumption since the power implied in Assumption I is the power which would accrue to the parents and the community if they had the autonomy and the resources to conduct their school affairs.

3. The Assumption That Decentralization Offers Professionals An Ally in the Participation of Parents Enhancing the Professionals Attempts at Improving The School System.

Since Los Angeles has a high level of competence in its administration and in many of its teaching staffs, let us select the Los Angeles School System to study this assumption. The Watts High School in Los Angeles has an advisory community board. A research project should be established which would undertake, over a three year period, to study the relationships and the participation of this parental board in its impact on the professionals employed or on the staff of the school. At the same time, the Morgan School District in Washington, D.C. should also be selected for a study of the relationships and impact of its community advisory board on its professional staff. The purpose of this comparison would be that the Morgan School District has a great deal of autonomy; the Watts High School has much less autonomy, and at the same time, is open a great deal to the impact of the school system's administrative specialized personnel. If the participation of parents constitutes an important ally to professionals in improving their school, then the Morgan School should make greater progress than the Watts High School. At the same time, the Ninth Street Elementary School in the Mexican area in West Los Angeles should also be selected. Here is a school where the professionals, with the aid of central school board specialists, are making a tremendous impact on their pupils and on their community without an advisory community board with any of the powers of either the Watts High School or the Morgan School District. A three year controlled study of these three types of schools would clarify this assumption.

This study, it is estimated, would run at about $20,000. to $25,000. a year for each school and, therefore, would cost from $180,000. to $225,000.

4. The Assumption That Decentralization Constitutes a Means of Reducing the Size of Bureaucracy.

The school system in Chicago which has instituted the threefold decentralized system, and the Cleveland School System which has a form of administrative decentralization should be selected and examined carefully in terms of the budgetary cost changes. The budgetary cost changes over a one year period should be studied as to whether decentralization of this type has in any way reduced the size of bureaucracy. The Manning Tables can be obtained for these school systems prior to the establishment of decentralized administrative systems and following the establishment of these systems. Administrative personnel for these two time periods can be separated from staff personnel. Changes in appointments and positions can be determined and criteria established for defining administrative decisions in these two time periods. At the same time, a third city should be selected, such as Detroit, which has not adopted decentralization, but is now experimenting with magnet schools to determine also in the same time period, the size of administrative ataffs and the size of staffs before the adoption of magnet schools and after the adoption of magnet schools.

This study should cost from about $25,000. to $30,000. per year for the three cities and, therefore, the total cost should run about $75,000. to $105,000. At the same time, this study could examine the related -

5. Assumption That Decreasing the Size of Units Increases The Efficiency of the Total System.

6. The Assumption That Decentralization Reduces the Size of Bureaucratic Units and Therbby Reduces Alienation and Anomie.

This study should be launched in relationship to the study on reducing the size of the bureaucracy through decentralization. However, it should be a separate study in the same cities and should address itself to the attempt to measure the impact of administrative decentralization on indices of alienation and anomie in these cities for selected subdistricts and for selected areas of the bureaucracy. This study, however, has a number of built in difficulties. It involves the need for obtaining a measure of alineation and anomie prior to the institution of a reduction of the size of the bureaucratic units, and since this cannot be obtained, it demands the creation of an experimental study.

A school system such as this to be found in Chicago or Philadelphia would have to be identified which would be willing to establish a small decentralized school area whereby it would be possible to develop some measures of alienation and anomie before the district was established, and study the changes and attempt to measure them after the new subdistrict had been established. By maintaining contact with each of these school systems in this report, it might be possible to learn of a move in this direction in one of these cities in time to establish this kind of an experimental project. Under the circumstances, no cost estimate is feasible.

### 7. The Assumption That Decentralization Will Improve The Quality of Education in Central Areas of Major Cities.

Much has been written about the inadequacy of public school systems, and especially the terrible inadequacies of public schools in the ghetto areas of the city. The shabby and outmoded school buildings have been described, the ineffective teaching quality of much of the staff has been written about, and the limited and often incompetent utilization of teaching materials which, in many cases, are claimed to be inappropriate and irrelevant has been much discussed. It has been argued that the improvement in quality of education can come about only through tremendous amounts of new financial resources for these school areas. On the other hand, the Coleman Report points out that the resources of the school system and even the system itself have little, if any, actual effect on educational achievements and that the two major determinants are the family background of the student and the influence of the student's peer group.

To provide adequate answers to this assumption, it is necessary to select three urban ghetto areas:

a) a small ghetto area in Detroit should be selected and declared an experimental decentralized district. This area should be provided with tremendous financial resources for the improvement of its school system.

b) a second ghetto area should be selected in Oakland, California and similarly declared an experimental decentralized district. This school area should concentrate on a program of working with the parents of children in these schools for the purpose of motivating these children to school achievement. Secondly, a small experimental busing program should be established in order to provide a mixed pupil population. These two factors should provide, if carefully designed, the necessary crucial variables for producing change in school and pupil achievement in accordance with the Coleman Report. A third small school district should be included from the Mexican area in West Los Angeles to introduce the additional variable of ethnic differences. The school district in Los Angeles that should be included is the one which already is experimenting on the part of the school faculty in affecting pupil motivation through parents.

This experimental project should be established for a three year period with the necessary assessment resources to measure changes in these three areas over a three year period.

Depending on the size of the decentralized sub-districts created, the annual cost of each of these projects would run anywhere from $50,000. to $100,000. per year. Therefore, the annual cost would be anywhere from $150,000. to $300,000. per year and the total project for the three year period would run from $450,000. to $900,000.

### 8. The Assumption That Decentralization Will Solve the Problems of The Advantages Accruing to Children With Parents of High Educational and Economic Backgrounds.

It is argued that social class milieu is the major factor in educational achievement. It is argued that social class milieu is more important than social integration for educational achievement. On this basis it is maintained that the higher the educational level of all the children's parents in a school, the higher the achievement of children of all backgrounds.

Two small school districts should be selected. The first should be a segregated ghetto small school district made up of either Japanese or Mexican pupils and parents. The second should be a small middle-class suburban school district. The first school district should be the object of a controlled and emphatic program of effecting and improving family and motivation for their children's school achievement. The second school district should have no changes introduced into it by the experiment. Over a three year period both districts should be subject to assessment of child performance. If the comparisons are valid and the controls carefully designed, and the ghetto school children's rate of achievement significantly increases or equals that of the suburban district children, then it should be clear that other factors are at work other than social class milieu in child performance.

Related to the basic assumptions about decentralization is a fundamental assumption about community control. This assumption has a variety of forms, but basically it states that community control will widen public participation on the part of ghetto residents and lead to educational restructuring and introduce new incentives for higher participation on the part of lower socio-economic groups. These high levels of participation will inevitably introduce such social changes as to make for effective teaching and high level performance on the part of pupils.

This assumption can perhaps be best tested in connection with a project in Philadelphia in a school district just north of the University of Pennsylvania. Here, a number of community residents in an urban black ghetto are involved in a project for decentralizing a city high school to create a more effective learning environment. This project is in effect and pupil performance data can be obtained beginning with the project's starting date and records can be obtained about the project and its performance since its initiation. It can be studied for the amount of community participation, and the quality and character of it; it also can be studied as to whether this community participation has had a profound effect on restructuring education or as to whether the major influences in educational changes have come from the participation of University of Pennsylvania faculty in this project. It has been in operation for about a year and it can be followed for at least another two years in order to determine the amount and nature of change. It is possible that this project established some assessment means at its initiation and therefore, it should be possible to obtain this data. In any case, since it has close connection with the University of Pennsylvania, this is one of the few places where cooperative project relationships exist between the University and an urban school district on the issues of decentralization and community control, and it would be of extreme interest to support this undertaking and follow it.

## Solutions to Problems of Decentralization

### 1. Supplementary School Educational Systems for Ethnic Groups

In the course of the history of ethnic and racial groups in the United States, they were faced with a large number of problems in adjusting to both the new urban communities they found themselves in, and the linguistic and cultural differences they faced. In order to enable them to adjust to these problems, they, in a number of instances, developed their own supplementary school educational systems. These were a variety of types of schooling which either followed on the regular school day in facilities which they provided themselves or on Sundays in Sunday School facilities, or in the utilization of evening schools for newly arrived ethnic groups. The American Negro as the most recent immigrant to the urban areas of the United States has encountered many of the same types of problems, but has not been assisted either by developing its own supplementary school educational system, or by the provision of special types of evening schools for them. It is therefore proposed that urban school systems develop a supplementary school educational system for ghetto blacks; these classes to be conducted following regular school hours in facilities provided by the public school system due to the low economic levels of this group, and staffed by specially selected teachers for this work. Such schooling would have to be on a voluntary level and there would be the opportunity for the assumptions about community control to be put into effect. Here, too, the opportunity for black militant leaders to give expression to their assumptions about relevant teaching materials and their consequent effect on school pupil achievement.

In the course of establishing such a system of supplementary school educational systems, it would be possible to select out two or three key examples to study and to assess. The assessment should include measuring the impact of this type of schooling on the pupil's achievement and performance, the selected teaching materials, and the performance and participation of teachers and parents in this selected educational system. Since participation in the supplementary school would have to be voluntary, it would provide an opportunity to test the assumptions about community control and test the assumptions about the relationship between what has been described as relevant activities in the school and their ability to draw large numbers of pupils into extra educational activities and thus affect their performance levels.

These supplementary schools should be given as much autonomy as their teaching staff desire and have the resources to carry out educational activities to express the goals and the objectives of their teaching staffs. There should be as little school board influence and achool administrative influence as possible in the organization, administration and the conduct of teaching in these schools as possible. The model for their organization and administration should be that of the ethnic supplementary school systems which have flourished in the past in the United States and still exist to some extent in parts of the United States. The city to start in would be Los Angeles.

A number of other assumed solutions have been encountered in the course of this study and might be translated into the following list of hypotheses:

1. Raising levels of professionalization in urban schools and management

of them will raise the level of school performance.

2. Management of tensions sytems through mediation will increase the effectiveness of schooling.

3. Mobilization for citizen participation will raise the level of pupil performance.

4. New concepts of investment in central city schools will increase the effectiveness of them.

5. A variety of heterogeneous boundary lines for city schools should be developed on schools and school districts should not be defined in terms of one type of boundary alone but that schools, if they had several types of boundaries, would thereby increase the heterogeneity of its pupils and contribute to the peer effect of the Coleman Report.

6. All city schools should be encouraged to have advisory councils and this would have an impact on increasing school effectiveness.

7. Sub-school districts of the city should have Boards of Trustees, thereby de-emphasizing limited community control and provide a more stable type of leadership for the sub-school districts thereby increasing their effectiveness.

8. There must be effective education in all schools no matter what the percentage of racial distribution. While Negro separatism constitutes a risk of fragmentation of public school education, it may also be the basis for a new pluralism and a more effective educationalequality for all schools and children.

9. Design schools which blend school experience with non-school experience under the control and guidance of the school teaching staff in such a way as to interrelate classroom learning with experience in a variety of community institutions so as to increase the immediate practical relevancy of the classroom experience and effect the learning motivation of the pupils involved. Which types of school system a) the traditional school system, b) the supplementary school system, c) the blended school-non-school experience system, provides the most effective solution for assisting social mobility?

10. Does the "magnet" type of school enhance significantly the movement towards integration and mixed peer classroom population and higher levels of performance, or does it leave the system of segregation of the city untouched and thereby the school performance levels untouched?

11. Do city busing programs, where they have been tried voluntarily such as in Los Angeles, affect pupil peer mixtures and pupil performance levels?

The collaboration and interest of universities in the issues of decentralization and community control for the cities studied were not found to be overwhelming. The cooperative relationships which do exist can be outlined as follows:

In Boston - there is work being conducted by Tufts, Harvard and M.I.T.

In Chicago - the participation of the University of Chicago in the Woodlawn organization and its involvement in the whole general problem of decentralization in the city.

In Philadelphia - the involvement of the University of Pennsylvania in especially the experimental project on the decentralization of a high school in the University of Pennsylvania area.

In Detroit - the participation of the school of Education and the Urban Studies Center in issues of school decentralization and educational research.

The limited amount of involvement of universities in the areas of the particular cities of this study is a matter of major concern. The universities in these areas, as well as universities in areas not in this study, need to pay attention to the problem of urban education and the related problem of a multiracial society's accommodations. The research proposed cuts across disciplines and traditional problem categories. Many segments of the university would necessarily be involved in these research undertakings, and by their involvement would stimulate major resources and talent in the university in conjunction with large federal resources for their solution and modification.

The research listed has been drawn up with a concern for priorities. It has also been drawn up with a concern for the most relevant urban location for each research project both for the necessary urban and educational factors and the consequences of the impact of the research on the local school community.